

Charles Stephens Read
Ambercouch, Edgehill

THE

Homconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. XI.—NEW SERIES, No. 276.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1851.

PRICE 6d.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.
THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING of the SOCIETY will be held (D.V.) in EXETER HALL, on THURSDAY, February 27, 1851.

The Right Hon. FOX MAULE, M.P.
Will preside.

The Rev. Dr. Candlish, the Rev. Dr. Archer, the Rev. James Ralph, A.M., the Rev. Dr. Beaumont, the Rev. Joshua C. Harrison, and other gentlemen, will address the Meeting.

The Chair will be taken at Half-past Seven o'clock precisely. The Committee earnestly solicit the attendance of Young Men.

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"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. XL.—NEW SERIES, NO. 276.]

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[PRICE 6d.]

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authority to make such alterations as they may think fit in the existing arrangements with regard to the Clergy Reserves, provided that existing interests are respected."

The Whigs, it is true, are out of office—and the carrying into effect of their declared intentions by the ministers who succeed them, may be regarded as problematical. We do not think so. The assent of the Whigs to the abandonment of the Clergy Reserves marks the sense they entertained of the necessity of the case. A more subservient Church cabinet than the Russell administration, it is not easy to anticipate. Even in this instance, they express their regret, whilst they convey their assent. They had evidently counted the costs of a refusal, and durst not abide by them. Not of choice, but perforce, they yielded to colonial determination. The exigency must, in their judgment, have been great to force from them so obviously a reluctant assent. But that assent having been accorded, the difficulties in the way of any future administration disposed to perpetuate the present state of things in Canada will be enormous, and such as insane recklessness only would think of encountering. The cherry is between the lips—and who will dare to snatch it thence? If we should have a Protectionist ministry, will they be fool-hardy enough to add to the dangers of their position at home, that of insurrection in a colony abroad? If a coalition ministry, will not the Peel policy of conciliation be adopted, and must not economy be one of the orders of the day, to give it even a chance of success? Parliamentary parties just now are in such a position as to deprive any one of them of the power of successfully resisting the just demands of the Canadian Legislature, without placing in imminent peril all the objects of their present strife. No one of them can afford to have on hand a troublesome colony, as Canada would be were she now disappointed in this matter of Clergy Reserves. We have, therefore, no misgiving as to the issue, although the Whigs have met with their desert. Let who will come after them, they will be compelled to redeem the promises of Lord Grey.

Our exultation, therefore, we hope, will not be proved to have been premature. We look upon the Church Establishment principle as having been given up, in so far as Canada is concerned. Our nearest, and our most important colony has achieved the first victory in this warfare. All honour to it—honour and thanks! Of itself the result is incalculably momentous. A future empire of vast extent and illimitable resources, has destroyed in the egg, a system, which, if allowed to develop itself, would have entailed upon growing millions one of the worst, one of the most ineradicable vices of European Government. Who can forecast what might have been the consequences to humanity in the ages yet to come, had this evil principle of State-churchism been suffered to take root in Canada? Who can calculate what might have been its blighting influence upon all the earthly and the unearthly prospects of coming generations in that colony? Happily, the mischief has been bravely uprooted before it could make its power felt. In respect of religious freedom Canada has before her a straight path and a clear one.

And then, our other colonial possessions—how can they fail to be influenced by Canadian success? It is well known that they have no sympathy with State-church principles or institutions. Lord Grey has put an unanswerable argument into their mouths. In the document from which we have already quoted, he says, "Great as would be the advantages," in the judgment of her Majesty's Government, "which would result from leaving undisturbed the existing arrangement, by which a certain portion of the public lands of Canada are made available for the purpose of creating a fund for the religious instruction of the inhabitants of the province, still the question whether that arrangement is to be maintained or altered is one so exclusively affecting the people of Canada, that its decision ought not to be withdrawn from the provincial legislature, to which it properly belongs to regulate all matters concerning the domestic interests of the province." Here is a text for the

Australias, which, we are confident, they will know how to apply. The Establishment system in the colonies is here handed over to the colonists themselves, as one which they alone have a right to deal with. We commend the subject to their deliberations.

The tide is turning. The course of events may now be almost foreseen in outline. The outposts of State-churchism will be carried one after another. The suckers will be stubbed up. Then will come the turn of Ireland, which Lord John's abortive anti-papal bill will do much to hasten. Scotland will not be far behind. England will not many years hence be left alone, as "the last rose of summer." Work on, friends! the prospect is not discouraging. Work on! Providence is speeding your enterprise. Work on cheerily! your reward is before you. Every victory will facilitate the next—the first is indissolubly connected with the last. Serious changes are approaching. A few more years will show a marvellous difference in the tone of Parliament on this question. A gap has been made in the hedge—and one of the flock is all but over. The rest will follow. No human determination, no legislative skill, can prevent it. Oh! for the last leap!

THE ANTI-STATE-CHURCH MOVEMENT.

MEETINGS AT DERBY AND LIVERPOOL.

The last number of the *Derby Reporter* contains a lengthened account of a meeting of the British Anti-state-church Association, held in that town on Thursday evening, the 18th inst. The Rev. Mr. Gathorn presided, and introduced to the meeting the Rev. G. Conder and Mr. Edward Miall as the deputation.

The Rev. W. GRIFFITH moved the first resolution, declaratory of the principle of the Association. In the course of his able speech he said—"A State establishment of religion has in it the very essence of Popery [hear, hear]. It is human authority interfering where the Divine prerogative alone should be exercised. A State religion may not drive me to prison, may not force me to the rack; though sometimes it has done it even in this country under the Protestant form of a State establishment—it has sent Dissenters to the prison, it has confiscated his goods, it has robbed him of his property—but it may not in every instance assume a direct form of persecution in its more tortuous modes; but where it does not apply the torture it holds out the bribe, and whether I submit to the torture, or whether I accept the bribe, I have debased myself, I am no longer a free man, I am a slave, a tool, ready to be subservient to those to whom I have surrendered for ever my manhood [hear, hear]. He will have to dip very deeply into the New Testament that would find in any part of its pages the slightest, the most remote and distant overshadowing of anything like a reasonable argument or fact that will justify on the part of the State the establishment of some peculiar theological creed, or ecclesiastical form of government, in the nation whose affairs that Government may be called to administer." Alluding to the Papal agitation, he said:—"Had we embraced this favourable opportunity thus to address ourselves to both Houses of Parliament and to the Throne, it seems to me we should have embraced one of the most happy, fortunate, extraordinary opportunities that for the last 150 years had been within our reach, to let the British nation know what the energy, what the character, what the hopes, what the capabilities of Dissent are" [loud cheers].

The Rev. G. CONDER, in seconding the resolution, said:—"If this were merely a political matter, merely affecting the temporal welfare of men—if our object were merely to deliver men from civil pains and penalties, I do not know that I should feel myself called upon to go about from place to place to agitate this matter and to argue it; but it is because I believe it to be intimately connected both with the honour of religion, and with the spirit of religion (the principle which we seek to put into the minds of men), because I feel that it is connected with the spirit of Christ's Kingdom in the world, the spirit of that principle with which the happiness of men, temporal and spiritual, is most intimately bound up, that I do very gladly give what little aid I can in casting abroad the principles of this association [hear]. If you ask me whether the missionary en-

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

A GAP IN THE HEDGE.

THE first blow is struck. The first victory is won. The Church Establishment system has encountered a defeat the ultimate issue of which it is impossible to foresee. If we are not yet in a position to rejoice for ourselves, let us rejoice for our fellow-subjects, whose enterprise and toil have laid the foundation of a mighty transatlantic empire!—let us rejoice for their posterity, who, as they multiply, will see the last traces of ecclesiastical oppression disappear from amongst them! let us rejoice for that beneficent religion, which ever puts forth its holiest and divinest energies when unencumbered with State-pay, and unfettered by State-control! and let us rejoice in a precedent which illustrates the invincible force of an enlightened public opinion, and in an example which addresses us "Go, and do likewise."

Our readers will recollect the series of important resolutions passed some months since by large majorities of the Canadian legislature, touching the Clergy Reserves. Those Reserves consisted originally of a certain proportion of all the waste lands disposed of in Canada, to maintain what is called "the religious instruction" of the colonists. By the Act 3 and 4 Vict. cap. 78, these Reserves were thrown open for sale, and the proceeds divided among the clergy of the Established Churches of England and Scotland, with which not above one-fifth of the inhabitants stand nominally connected. The arrangement has been, as usual, a prolific source of discord. It lay at the bottom of the "Canadian rebellion." It kept the colonists in a perpetual fever. It encouraged the exclusive pretensions, and rapacious attempts of the favoured denominations—and it stimulated the indignation of all others. Our columns have recorded several of the struggles to which it has given rise. At length, the pressure upon the Legislature from without was far too strong to be evaded. An address to the Queen was carried, praying that the Clergy Reserves might be resumed for secular purposes, after providing for existing interests—and was transmitted hither to be laid before her Majesty in council. To that address the Queen has favourably responded. The Clergy Reserves are virtually no more. Canada has gallantly wrought out her ecclesiastical freedom.

In a despatch dated January the 27th, 1851, and signed by Earl Grey—a copy of which will be found in another column—the Earl of Elgin is instructed to inform the House of Assembly, when next it meets, "that their address to the Queen has been laid before her Majesty, and that her Majesty has been pleased to receive it very graciously"—"and that while her Majesty's servants greatly regret that a subject of so much difficulty as that of the Clergy Reserves should, after an interval of some years, have again been brought under discussion, it has appeared to them, on mature deliberation, that the desire expressed by the Assembly in this address ought to be acceded to; and they will accordingly be prepared to recommend to Parliament that an act should be passed, giving to the provincial legislature full

terprise be not surely a more spiritual aim than this, I should be disposed to answer seriously. No; because they are both one—both the spreading of the kingdom of Christ—in the one case, to spread it where there are no impediments; in the other it seeks the removal of what we believe to be impediments to the spread of that kingdom. In the first case we have an open field given us to preach the Gospel in; in the other case we see what we believe to be truth fettered, bound, and hindered in very many ways, and we seek to break the fetters and remove the impediments, and I think, therefore, our aim is the most spiritual one we can possibly have [hear, hear]. What is the position of this Association in relation to the body of Dissenters? It is this—we stand forth as the interpreters of their action. Do we believe in the old maxim, "actions speak louder than words?" I do not fancy that there are many Dissenters throughout the kingdom who would disavow the truth of that maxim; and if it be true, then we say that it is impossible by any word that we can utter, or they can utter, to convey a stronger condemnation of the thing which we oppose than their position of Dissent and Nonconformity itself does [hear, hear]. We cannot say anything that shall have so strong a condemnation of State-churchism as their position of refusal to accord to the State-church of this land their co-operation and their compliance. They stand and refuse the religion that is provided for them by the State, although they have to pay for it, although it puts them in a position which no Christian man would willingly keep—a position of antagonism to the Government of the land. Their doing this is the strongest condemnation they can possibly utter, and the Anti-state-church Association comes forward to interpret this action, in which all Dissenters are united [hear, hear]. Some may tell us we are doing more than this—that we are not only interpreters, but aggressors. Be it so—if the matter be of such importance as to compel us to act; if the principle that all legislation by secular government in affairs of religion is unjust and unscriptural, if that be of sufficient importance to make a man take his stand in opposition to Government, it is of sufficient importance to induce us to seek to separate the Church from the State [cheers]. Mr. Conder then proceeded to argue the fundamental principle of Anti-state-churchism with much effect, and to advert to passing events.

The first resolution having been carried unanimously, the second, which was of a more practical character, was moved by Mr. STEVENSON, and seconded by Mr. MIALL.

The latter gentleman having concluded,

The CHAIRMAN put the resolution, which was carried with acclamation. He then stated that, if any person desired to ask anything, he might step forward upon the platform, and a fair and candid hearing should be secured for him. No one coming forward, Mr. CONDER proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which Mr. MIALL seconded.

The Rev. J. CORNIN proposed a vote of thanks to the deputation, which was seconded, and carried by acclamation.

The Rev. W. GRIFFITH hoped Mr. Miall might live to accomplish his object. Mr. MIALL replied, and the meeting broke up at half-past ten o'clock.

A similar meeting was held the next evening (Friday, the 14th), at the Concert Hall, Liverpool. Samuel Stitt, Esq., occupied the chair. Mr. J. C. Williams was present in addition to Mr. Conder and Mr. Miall. The Revs. H. S. Brown and Joseph. Mr. C. Robertson, and Mr. Urquhart, also addressed the meeting, but we are unable to spare room except for the following abstract of Mr. Urquhart's speech:—

He would only direct their attention to the latter part of the resolution, which referred to the Anti-state-church Association, and why it deserves our prompt and liberal support. He dwelt upon the constitution of the Association, its workings, its increasing influence on the minds of the friends of civil and religious liberty in the United Kingdom and the colonies. He then brought forward some facts which he had extracted from the corporation accounts, to show how the burgesses (who are of every denomination), pay for the maintenance of the State church, beyond what they pay as parishioners and members of the community. The Town Council, in addition to the large amount expended for building Corporation churches, pay to ministers, curates, &c. of the State-church all the pew-rents received, and above £6,200 yearly. He contrasted two of the Corporation State-churches with two Voluntary churches, to show how far the State-church party had any right to look down upon the other. St. Luke's and St. George's were built and are adapted for our merchant-princes and the higher classes of society, but had no accommodation for the poor. They were erected by the Corporation at a cost not less than £80,000; and pay—

	£ s. d.
St. Luke's	879 18 0
Receive for pew-rents	281 8 10
Yearly loss to the Corporation for St. Luke's	£591 9 2
And pay Ministers, Curates, &c., per annum, for	
St. George's	815 14 3
Receive for pew-rents	136 5 3
Yearly loss to the Corporation for St. George's	£679 9 0

Thus these two State-churches cost the Corporation above £80,000, and £1,270 18s. 2d. per annum. He then quoted two of the Voluntary churches—Crescent Chapel and Pembroke Chapel—the one an Independent, the other a Baptist. These chapels were erected by voluntary contributions. The members of these churches and congregations contribute weekly for the maintenance of their places of worship, their ministers, &c., to the amount of £2,200 per annum, being £1,682 6s. 1d. more than is contributed by the two most splendid State-churches in Liverpool. Again, these two Voluntary churches had schools open for the instruction of

children of parents of every denomination; while the ten schools of the Corporation are open for the instruction of State-churchism, at a cost to the corporate funds of above £1,760 per annum, independent of the cost of the buildings and the pence paid by the children. He would not extend his observations on the parish churches, but would refer them to a recent meeting of the select vestry. One of the churchwardens then stated, that they must have a rate of 2d. in the pound, which would yield above £11,000, for the cemetery. The rector, in answer to a question respecting who might be interred in the ground, stated, that all who may be buried there must be buried according to the rites of the Church of England. While this cemetery—containing above twenty-two acres, walled round, with a chapel and two houses within the ground—were bought and erected at the cost of the parishioners, who are of every sect, yet the rector for the church claims the whole, and thereby secures the fees. Mr. Urquhart called upon the burgesses and parishioners to bring these things before their representatives in the council and the select vestry, that justice might be done to the rates.

SALFORD.—On Wednesday evening last, a public meeting, to advocate the separation of the Church from the State, was held in the Town Hall, Salford. There was a numerous audience, and Mr. Robert Needham was called to preside. The Chairman briefly explained the object which the Association had in view, and the means by which it was proposed to attain that object. The Rev. A. E. Pearce moved, and Mr. J. C. Williams seconded, the first resolution, which was carried with only a few dissentients. Mr. A. Prentice said it had been asked whether it was likely, in case of separation of the Church from the State, such men as Mr. Hugh Stowell and Dr. M'Neile would cease from their labours? No one could suppose that those men would relax in their efforts if the separation took place tomorrow. In Manchester and Salford there was ample proof of what could be done by voluntary efforts. There were about 150 places of worship belonging to the Dissenters; and forty-five belonging to the Church of England, but forty-four of these were raised by voluntary efforts, so that only one received State assistance. Mr. Prentice proceeded, in a humorous manner, to point out, during the last thirty-five years which came within his own recollection, that whenever the people sought for an increase of their rights, a counter cry was always got up that the Church was in danger; and by that means the people were often led off upon the wrong scent. The Church would always be in danger until it came down to a level with other denominations. The Church had been furnished with stilts [laughter], and went about staggering and swaggering, and would always be in danger until it walked naturally. He wished the Church party to walk like the rest of them; but if it would use stilts, he objected to being called upon to mend them when they were broken, and would like them to keep off his toes [laughter]. If the Christian religion were not of Divine origin, it could not have withstood the infliction of a connexion with the State for the last 1,400 years. He regarded that as a strong proof of its truth. He concluded by moving:—

That the condition of the United Kingdom, regarded in an ecclesiastical point of view, renders the efforts now made to confine the operations of governments to affairs of a purely civil character, both reasonable and most necessary.

J. Kingsley, Esq., in seconding the resolution, referred to a few dissentients at the lower end of the room who had peaceably voted against the first resolution. He duly appreciated the expression of their sentiments, and said they were at liberty, if they thought proper, to send a person upon the platform to speak for them [applause]. The resolution was carried, there being only about twenty hands held up against it. Rev. J. Dunckley moved the adoption of the following petition:—

That it is the conviction of your petitioners that it forms no part of the duty of the Legislature to provide the means of religious instruction or worship for the people, but that each denomination should support its own places of worship and ministers, and have the management of its own affairs. That your petitioners believe it to be most unjust to exercise legislative power, or to apply the resources of the nation for the benefit of a favoured sect, and that the cause of religion would be best promoted, and a fruitful source of animosity removed, by placing all upon a footing of perfect equality. Your petitioners therefore pray your honourable House to pass such laws as will have the effect of separating the Church from the State, and to apply the ecclesiastical revenues of the country to secular purposes exclusively. And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Its adoption was seconded by Mr. Horner, and carried. Thanks were voted to the Chairman, and the meeting separated at ten o'clock.

ANNUAL MEETING AT ROCHDALE.—On Thursday evening last, the annual meeting of the Association took place in the Public Hall, Baillie-street, Rochdale. John Petrie, Esq., occupied the chair, and the meeting was addressed by Mr. Kingsley, Mr. Thomas Schofield, of Rochdale, and several other speakers. Resolutions were carried unanimously in opposition to the union of Church and State, and a petition was to be forwarded to Sharman Crawford, Esq., M.P. for Rochdale, for presentation, praying that the revenues of the Church may be applied to secular purposes. The meeting, which was one of the largest ever held in Rochdale, broke up about ten o'clock.

RUSHOLME.—Mr. J. Kingsley delivered a lecture at Moore-street Chapel, Rusholme, on Friday evening last. The Rev. Mr. Atkinson was called to the chair. At the conclusion of the lecture a resolution was moved by Mr. Swaine, and seconded by Mr. J. E. Nelson. The latter, after exposing Lord John Russell's inconsistency, said they had in that town a serious instance of the inconsistency of men who are apt to teach. A gentleman acted as chairman of a committee, in 1847, who undertook the kind office of finding a representative for the town of Manchester, and introduced Lord Lincoln, whose panacea for

Ireland's wrongs was, the payment of the Catholic clergy out of the taxes paid by the English Protestants; and this worthy alderman was standing up in the Free-trade Hall, a few weeks since, proposing a vote of thanks to Lord John Russell for his letter calling this same Catholic religion superstition and mummery. If the English people wanted to check the spread of the Roman Catholic religion, they must break up that great nursery for Romish ministers, the training establishment of the episcopacy.

FOORTHCOMING MEETINGS.—Several important meetings are announced to be held this week; viz., at Bolton, Oldham, Bristol, Worcester, Birmingham (Town Hall), and the Free-trade Hall, Manchester. Mr. Kingsley and the Rev. G. B. Johnson, of Darwen, are to attend meetings at Chester and Birkenhead on the 3rd and 4th March. Mr. Kingsley is also to lecture in Liverpool and Burslem. It is intended to send deputations to South Wales early in March, and to Scotland in April.

ABANDONMENT OF THE CLERGY RESERVES IN CANADA.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL GREY TO THE EIGHTH HON. THE EARL OF ELGIN AND KINCARDINE.

Downing-street. Jan. 27, 1851.

MY LORD,—I have hitherto deferred answering your lordship's despatch No. 198, of the 19th of July last, in which you transmitted to me an address to her Majesty from the House of Assembly, on the subject of the clergy reserves, because when this despatch reached me the session of the provincial legislature having already been brought to an end, and that of the Imperial Parliament being about to close, nothing could for some months be done on the subject referred to, and I therefore thought it advisable that it should be reserved for that full and deliberate consideration of her Majesty's Government, which its difficulty and importance deserved.

2. I have now to instruct your lordship to inform the House of Assembly when it shall again be called together, that their address to the Queen, which was transmitted to me in your despatch, has been laid before her Majesty, and that her Majesty had been pleased to receive it very graciously. You will further inform the House that, while her Majesty's servants greatly regret that a subject of so much difficulty as that of the clergy reserves should, after an interval of some years, have again been brought under discussion, it has appeared to them, on mature deliberation, that the desire expressed by the Assembly in this address ought to be acceded to, and they will accordingly be prepared to recommend to Parliament that an act should be passed, giving to the provincial legislature full authority to make such alterations as they may think fit in the existing arrangements with regard to the clergy reserves, provided that existing interests are respected.

3. In coming to this conclusion, her Majesty's Government have been mainly influenced by the consideration that, great as would, in their judgment, be the advantages which would result from leaving undisturbed the existing arrangement, by which a certain portion of the public lands of Canada are made available for the purpose of creating a fund for the religious instruction of the inhabitants of the province, still the question whether that arrangement is to be maintained or altered is one so exclusively affecting the people of Canada, that its decision ought not to be withdrawn from the provincial legislature, to which it properly belongs to regulate all matters concerning the domestic interests of the province.

4. It has therefore appeared to her Majesty's Government that it would be impossible for them, consistently with the principles on which they have always held that the government of Canada ought to be conducted, to advise her Majesty to refuse to comply with the prayer of the address of the House of Assembly; and they have had the less difficulty in coming to this conclusion, because they have observed with satisfaction that the Assembly, in their address, have recognised the claims of those who are now in the enjoyment of incomes derived from the funds realized by the sale of the lands in question, and have not asked that in any alteration of the Act of Parliament now in force authority should be given to the provincial legislature to interfere with the continuance of these incomes for the lives of the parties by whom they are received. The course thus taken by the Assembly is alike consistent with sound policy and with justice, and has obviated what would otherwise have been a great difficulty in the way of accomplishing the object they have in view.

5. You will cause copies of this despatch to be laid before both Houses of the Parliament of Canada at their next meeting.

I have, &c., (Signed) GRAY,
The Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, &c.

MEETING OF THE CATHOLIC LAITY OF MANCHESTER AND SALFORD.

(Abridged from the *Manchester Examiner*.)

The free-trade Hall, spacious as it is, was quite filled on Thursday evening with an enthusiastic assemblage of the lay Catholics of this district, who desired thus to express their sense of the present outcry against the so-called "Popish Aggression," and of the bill introduced into the House of Commons by Lord John Russell. Galleries, platform, and body of the hall, were alike densely crowded; every speaker was attentively listened to, and his sentiments warmly applauded; and if any feeling of opposition to the proceedings of that meeting was present in the minds of any persons not of the Catholic persuasion, those persons, if such there were in the place, had the good sense to avoid any demonstration which could interrupt for a moment the harmony of the meeting.

Daniel Lee, Esq., was in the chair. Six resolutions were proposed, seconded, and carried unanimously. The first was as follows:—

That we, the Catholic laity of Manchester and Salford, do hereby solemnly declare that the obedience which, as a matter of faith and conscience, is rendered by us to the Pope, as head

of the church upon earth, and to our more immediate prelates and pastors of the church in communion with him, has relation to spiritual matters alone; and that this obedience does not in anywise interfere with or affect our perfect and undivided allegiance to our temporal sovereign, our unwavering loyalty to the throne, or our unshaken and long-proved attachment to the constitution of this country.

The second recognised with gratitude the establishment of the hierarchy; the third expressed deep, respectful, and cordial sympathy with Cardinal Wiseman; the fourth repudiated the sentiments avowed by the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Beaumont. The fifth and sixth were as follows:—

That it is the opinion of this meeting, that in the establishment of the hierarchy in this country no law has been infringed, nor any set done, which was not contemplated at the passing of the Emancipation Act, and indubitably permitted by it; that any legislation now, which seeks to prohibit the exercise of our right, whether in the functions and forms of our spiritual government, or in the legal investment of funds for religious or charitable purposes, is an infringement of personal liberty, an act of tyranny and persecution unworthy of the British name, and a scandal to the civilized world; and that, whilst we heartily disclaim attempts to procure temporal ascendancy for the Catholic Church, as also the slightest wish to interfere with the ecclesiastical organization of other communities, we pledge ourselves to resist, by all constitutional means, every assault upon our religious liberties.

That this meeting feels deep satisfaction at the conduct of the great mass of the working people of England, who have stood aloof from the intolerant agitation of the last three months, thereby proving the vast progress which they have made in intelligence, and in devotion to genuine liberty.

One of the speakers remarked: "They tell us the Cardinal should have consulted the civil power before presuming to exercise his high functions;—so he might, if he asked of the State a barony as well [applause]. So he might, if broad acres were attached to his see [applause]. So he might, if he took with it a revenue of £5,000 a year from the State [loud applause]. But that the clergy of the Catholic Church should depend for the exercise of their spiritual functions upon the permission of any state, Pagan or Christian, is a thing never heard of since the foundation of our religion. The blood of her martyrs flows to this hour in China, because she cannot wait for the emperor's permission. She has ever acted, and she ever will act, for the good of her children, with the leave of the civil power, if they choose to grant it; and without it if they do not" [prolonged applause]. Another said: "After all, however, Lord John Russell could not dissolve the hierarchy. It very much depended upon the Catholics themselves submitting to its allegiance and deferring to its mandate. That hierarchy was already in full operation, and he trusted that the Catholics would cling to it to the very last" [loud applause]. A third speaker applied to the Premier the Shaksprian lines:—

But this new governor
Awakes me all the enrolled penalties
Which have, like uncur'd armour, hung by the wall
So long, that nineteen zodiacs have gone round,
And none of them been worn; and, for a name,
Now puts the drowsy and neglected act
Freshly on me;—'tis, surely, for a name.

A petition to the House of Commons against the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was adopted; and it was desired that each person append his address and residence to his signature, to secure that all the signatures be genuine. A large multitude, that could not obtain admission to the hall, held a meeting out of doors, and adopted the resolutions given above.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC LAITY of Bath and Clifton have held a meeting to petition against the ministerial measure. A similar petition was read in all the Catholic chapels on Sunday.

THE ANNUITY TAX.—The following letter from the Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department has been received by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh:—

Whitehall, 14th February, 1851.

My Lord,—I am directed by Secretary Sir George Grey to inform you, with reference to your letter of the 26th ult., that the subject of the Edinburgh Annuity-tax has received the careful and attentive consideration of her Majesty's Government; but as Sir George Grey regrets to find that the mode proposed by Mr. Lefevre of dealing with this question, and which appeared to the Government to be the least open to reasonable objection, has not met with that degree of support or concurrence on the part of those who are chiefly interested in the matter, which would be essential to its success, he cannot, under present circumstances, undertake, on the part of the Government, to propose a bill to Parliament for the settlement of the question.

I am further to observe that Sir George Grey apprehends that the Annuity-tax having been created by local acts, any bill on this subject would be, to a certain extent, at least in the nature of a private bill, and it is competent to the parties seeking for an alteration of these local acts to proceed according to the ordinary practice in such cases.—I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's obedient servant,

(Signed) H. WADDINGTON.

The Lord Provost of Edinburgh, &c. &c.

THE COMMITTEE OF THE DEPUTIES of the Three Denominations of Protestant Dissenters—Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist—in and within twelve miles of London, appointed to protect their civil rights, for the year 1851, includes the following gentlemen:—Chairman, John Remington Mills, Esq., Kingswood-lodge, Englefield-green, Surrey; Deputy-Chairman, Thomas Pewtress, Esq., 30, Gracechurch-street; Treasurer, Benjamin Hanbury, Esq., 138, Blackfriars-road; Beddome, William, Esq., Gresham-street; Brown, Joseph, Esq., 10, Clarence-terrace, Regent's Park; Clarke, Ebenezer, Walthamstow; Conder, Josiah, Esq., the Grove, Clapham; East, Joseph, Esq., Abchurch-lane; Evans, James Cook, Esq., 17, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane; Gale, Samuel, Esq., 70, Basinghall-street; Gover, William, Esq., 4, Holly-terrace, Highgate; Griffin, Nathaniel, Esq., Cloisters, Temple; Hankey, William Aler, Esq., 7,

Fenchurch-street; Hare, John M., Esq., Bolt-court, Fleet-street; Hopkins, Rice, Esq., 8, Parliament-street; Morley, Samuel, Esq., Wood-street; Offor, George, Esq., Grove-house, South Hackney; Pellett, Aspasia, Esq., Holland-street, Blackfriars; Reed, Charles, Esq., Paternoster-row; Rutt, Wm., Esq., 11, Sutton-place, Upper Homerton; Terrell, Robert Hull, Esq., Gray's-inn-square; Wilks, John, Esq., 3, Finsbury-square; Wilson, George, Esq., 8, Tothill-street, Westminster; Wise, Mr. Alderman, 9, St. Swithin's-lane. Secretary, Mr. Hull Terrell, solicitor, 30, Basinghall-street.

TITULAR SUICIDE OF THE SCOTCH BISHOPS.—The *Scotsman*, in an article on the Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Bill, which the Scotch bishops did their utmost to procure from the Government, observes:—The point on which the bill goes beyond expectation is one not so important as amusing. It de-thrones or dis-titles the Scottish Episcopalian bishops, who joined so warmly in the agitation out of which it has arisen! "We, Alexander of Brechin," and all the rest of them, have only a few weeks more to enjoy the honours of their station.

The bill includes those assuming "under colour of authority from the See of Rome, or otherwise;" and, while the prohibition in the Catholic Relief Act restricted the prohibition to names or titles already in use "by persons authorized by law" in *England and Ireland*, the present bill extends the prohibition to the names of *all* places in the *United Kingdom*. Dr. Wiseman, therefore, is not more absolutely prohibited from presuming to call himself Archbishop of Westminster, than Dr. Terrot is from continuing to call himself Bishop of Edinburgh. Except, however, as a rather amusing instance of righteous retribution, we do not rejoice in this catastrophe. The titles of our Scotch Episcopalian bishops did nobody any harm, nor even gave anybody what we would consider reasonable offence: we never heard of any one that looked upon Bishop Terrot with anything but esteem, or upon "Alexander of Brechin" with anything like terror. But as Bishop Terrot did go to the Edinburgh meeting to denounce as a usurper his brother of Westminster, and as the Spiritual Lord of Brechin did declare that "the creation of Roman Catholic bishops in Edinburgh would be an invasion of our episcopates," who can be sorry that the Legislature (since it will meddle with the matter at all) is about to declare them all usurpers and invaders alike? In one of Hogarth's pictures there is a representation of a man busily sawing through a projecting beam the outer end of which forms his own elevated seat:—that is an emblem of our Scotch bishops agitating against "the aggression."

CHURCH-RATES IN CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday evening, a meeting of the ratepayers and inhabitants of St. James's, Clerkenwell, was held at the Crown Tavern, Clerkenwell-green, to receive a report upon the appeal against a church-rate. The grounds of appeal against the rate were, that it was excessive and unnecessary. In the year 1784, the then existing church of St. James being in a ruinous and decayed condition, an act of Parliament was passed whereby powers were obtained and trustees appointed to have the old church pulled down and a new one erected; and the necessary fees, pew-rents, and other dues payable in respect of the church, were to be received by the churchwardens, and after paying the requisite charges, were to pay the balance to the trustees; and if the money was not sufficient, the trustees were empowered to make a rate to carry out the purposes of the act. The decision was in favour of the appellants. Mr. Mence, a parishioner, said that so long as there was a State-church there would be these broils. There were no seizures now. If any parishioner could be frightened into paying church-rates it was done; but if the people would stand out against them there would be no rate next year. Previous to the appeal against the rate eight years ago, the rate was twopence in the pound; after that appeal it was only a penny in the pound. On the last appeal the Chairman stated that a rate of a halfpenny in the pound was sufficient, but he had not the power to amend the rate. With great difficulty they had seen some of the accounts, and it was found that thirty-five bottles of wine were charged for the communicants, and eighty-five for those that waited upon the communicants; for beating the bounds £2 was expended upon the children for cakes and milk, and £18 upon the gentlemen who attended upon them. Resolutions, expressing the satisfaction of the meeting with the result of the appeal, were adopted.

THE UNIVERSITY COMMISSIONS.—It is said that a legal opinion has been obtained by the authorities at Cambridge, suggesting some technical informality as regards the constitution of the royal commission, but accompanied by a recommendation to parties to facilitate its objects. It is understood that no opinion has as yet been obtained by the authorities of the sister University, who have submitted a case to Mr. Bethel, the eminent Queen's counsel; but meanwhile many of the most distinguished Professors, Heads of Colleges, and others connected with the discipline and instruction of the place, have, it is understood, transmitted important evidence to the Commissioners for Oxford.—*Globe*.

MR. BENNETT A SCOTCH BISHOP.—It is understood that as soon as the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett has completed his arrangements for resigning the incumbency of St. Paul's and St. Barnabas, Pimlico, he will be elected bishop of the united dioceses of St. Andrew's, Dunkeld, and Dunblain, in the Episcopal Church of Scotland. The Right Rev. Dr. Torry, who has held the bishopric during the last forty-three years, intends resigning active duty in the church, and the whole of the Presbyteries (with

whom in Scotland the election of bishops rests) are said to be in favour of Mr. Bennett. The diocese of St. Andrew's may be said to be one of the principal into which the Scottish Episcopal Church is divided, inasmuch as it is the only one that can boast of a regularly endowed cathedral, with dean, canons, and other ecclesiastical officers. The cathedral, which is situated in Perth, and which was recently opened with much ceremony and solemnity, is dedicated to St. Ninian, and choral service is fully carried out.

By a new document, just announced from Rome, Cardinal Wiseman is made protector of the hitherto Independent College of Unshaw, near Durham, in the new diocese of Hexham. Under the powers so conferred, he will adjudicate in a dispute now pending between the College and the so-called Bishop of Liverpool, who claims a right to divert a part of the funds of the College, and apply it to the purpose of a new College in Lancashire.—*Newcastle Journal*.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR AND THE WELSH LANGUAGE.—Some short time ago the Lord Chancellor presented the Rev. David Jeffrey, curate of Neath, in South Wales, to the rectory of Tir Newydd, in Anglesey. Mr. Jeffrey is a Welshman, and well acquainted with his mother tongue; and it is asserted, that the Lord Chancellor has expressed his intention of not bestowing any of his Welsh patronage on ministers who are not thoroughly proficient in, and masters of, that language. This was the first Welsh living which had fallen to the Chancellor for disposal.

ITALIAN ANTI-PAPAL MEETING.—A meeting of the Italians resident in London, without any distinction of religious or political opinions, was held on Wednesday evening at the Music-hall, Store-street, to express their abhorrence of the temporal power of the Pope. Mr. Aubrey Berri having taken the chair, the meeting was addressed by Signor Agostini, late Deputy of the Roman Constituent Assembly; Professor A. Gallenga, of University College, London; the Avocat Lazotti, Signor Gaetano, Dr. Achilli, Father Gavazzi, and others, and the following resolutions were carried:—

1. That the temporal power of the Pope always was, and is one of the most fatal calamities of Italy.
2. That the Italians at different epochs had struggled with all their might against the temporal power of the Pope, and shook it in repeated instances, and would have overthrown it during the late disturbances of 1848 and 1849, but for the interference of other Powers.
3. That the Italians see more with indignation and sorrow, than with surprise, that England is threatened by a foreign power, notwithstanding the great light of reason and freedom which has shone for centuries over that land; but they wish to express their firm confidence that no power of darkness will ever prevail over them.
4. That the Italians at the same time, out of sympathy and a feeling of gratitude towards English hospitality, take a share in the communion which has arisen in the English nation, at the threat of a Papal usurpation, and they are sure that the English will have no difficulty in finding such measures as will baffle all such a tempest, without, however, interfering with that sacred right of freedom of conscience, which constitutes the greatest pride of England.

RECENT BURGLARIES.—During the last two or three weeks there have been a number of daring burglaries, but not in such local proximity as to be the work of one or two gangs. On the night of the 11th inst. the house of Mr. Gudge, innkeeper, Ashill, Norfolk, was broken into by several ruffians, who brutally assaulted the landlord and his wife. They were foiled in obtaining a club-box which was known to contain a considerable sum of money, and being disturbed, decamped with only a few articles of wearing apparel.—On the same night the residence of Mr. H. Pool Leigh, of Eton-terrace, Cheltenham-road, Bristol, was entered, and a quantity of jewellery and plate stolen.—On the same night, also, five villains, armed with pistols and wearing masks, broke into the house of Mr. Thomas Richardson, of Knowsley, farmer, and although as early as eight o'clock, beat the inmates in a most brutal manner with the butt ends of their pistols, and threatened to shoot them, until they delivered up £52 in gold and silver, a silver watch, and gun. Fifty pounds reward is offered for the apprehension and conviction of these ruffians.—Early on the morning of the 13th, the dwelling-house of the Rev. John Hall, Chester-road, Macclesfield, Catholic priest, was broken into, and a silver chalice, ten inches high, with figures of angels and grapes engraved on it, the cup gilt outside and inside, and engraved, "Daniel Fetter, priest, 1779," was stolen, as also a silver plate, and about £4 in copper.—On Wednesday morning last, the house of Mr. Tucker, the verger of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, was broken into by two men, who first ransacked the lower rooms of the house, and then proceeded up-stairs with lighted candles to the sleeping apartments of Mr. Tucker, and an elderly lady, named Whittaker. Mrs. Whittaker was struck on the head with an iron instrument, inflicting two severe wounds; another blow broke her arm. Mr. Tucker was knocked down several times, and received severe wounds on the head. Mrs. Whittaker's screams alarmed the villains, and they made off before the police arrived. Mr. Tucker is upwards of 90 years of age, and both he and Mrs. Whittaker are in a most dangerous state.

VOTING BY RAILWAY SPEED.—On one morning, three Scotch members of Parliament, viz., Mr. Forbes, Mr. W. Lockhart, and Mr. A. E. Lockhart, recorded their votes at the Falkirk election. On the same evening they took part in the division in the House of Commons on Mr. Disraeli's motion on Agricultural Distress; and by means of the electric telegraph, were apprised of the result of the election, although it did not terminate for seven or eight hours after they set out on their journey.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

[TESTIMONIAL TO THE REV. H. BATCHELOR.—A tea meeting was held on Friday, Feb. 21st, 1851, in the Holly-walk Church, Leamington, to present the above gentleman with a token of respect on the occasion of his leaving Leamington to enter upon his pastoral duties at Fetter-lane Chapel, London. The testimonial consisted of a beautiful time-piece, which bore the following inscription:—"Presented to the Rev. H. Batchelor, by the members of his Bible Classes and friends, as a grateful token of their affection and esteem for his valuable instructions. Congregational Church, Leamington, Feb. 21, 1851." This handsome testimonial was accompanied with a purse. They were presented by the Rev. N. Rowton, late of Coventry, who delivered a very appropriate address. The Rev. J. W. Percy, of Warwick, the Rev. M. Caston, and other ministers and friends addressed the meeting. Mr. Batchelor briefly acknowledged the kindness and affection manifested towards him. Great regret is felt by the congregation and the town generally, at the unexpected removal of that gentleman from amongst them, as, during three years' toil in endeavouring to extend the kingdom of Christ, he has succeeded in establishing a cause, and erecting a beautiful place of worship, and in becoming a source of great usefulness to a large number who deplore his departure to another sphere of ministerial activity. The farewell sermons were preached on Sunday, Feb. 23rd, to overflowing congregations, who were deeply affected at the great loss they have sustained; the sermons are expected to be published in a pamphlet, at the request of the congregation.

EASTCOMBE.—In consequence of the excessive and continued crowded state of the congregation on Lord's-day evenings, at Bussage Lecture-room, under the ministry of Rev. J. Packer, of Eastcombe, W. Davis, Esq., has most generously resolved to build a more spacious and better adapted place of worship upon a new site of ground. The building was commenced on Monday, the 19th inst., and will, it is expected, be ready for opening about Midsummer next; till then, the services usually held in the above place will be discontinued.

RYDE.—The ordination of the Rev. Henry Davies, late of Newport Pagnell College, took place at George-street Chapel, Ryde, Isle of Wight, February 12, 1851. The service was commenced by the Rev. F. W. Meadows, of Gosport, reading the Scriptures and prayer. Dr. Ferguson delivered the introductory discourse, in which admirably set forth the nature and constitution of Christ's kingdom. Rev. E. Giles, of Newport, asked the usual questions, which were satisfactorily replied to; the ordination prayer was also offered by Mr. Giles. Rev. G. Smith, of Poplar (Mr. Davies's pastor) gave a charge, founded on 2 Tim. ii. 15. Rev. J. Beresley, of East Cowes, closed the solemnities of the occasion.

HARWICH.—Upwards of twelve months since a large proportion of the church and congregation who had worshipped in Bath-side Chapel, of which, for more than fifty years, the late Rev. W. Hordle had been the able and beloved minister, found it necessary to withdraw and open another place. A large upper room in Church-lane, capable of holding from 200 to 250 persons, was fitted up at the expense of one of their number, and in this they have since worshipped. Their numbers having been increased by fresh secessions from the parent church and otherwise, a few weeks back they gave a very cordial and unanimous invitation to the Rev. Henry Bromley, formerly of Clavering, Essex, to undertake the pastoral office among them. Mr. Bromley having accepted this invitation, commenced his pastoral duties on the 16th inst.

YOUNG MAN'S MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION IN AID OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—On Wednesday evening, the 19th inst., the Rev. William Brock, of Bloomsbury Chapel, delivered the fifth lecture of the present course in connexion with the above Association, in the Mission-house Library, Moorgate-street, City, on "The interval between Old Testament and New Testament times." S. Morley, Esq., was in the chair. The capacious room was densely crowded, and the audience was deeply interested in the subject and the masterly lecture. The Rev. G. W. Fishbourne, of Bow, supplicated the Divine blessing; and the Rev. Mr. Dewhurst, of Jersey, and Mr. D. R. Dosseter, moved and seconded a vote of thanks to Mr. Brock, who afterwards concluded with prayer.

THE SAILORS' STRIKE.—A delegation from Shields and the other northern ports to Mr. Labouchere, President of the Board of Trade, returned home on Thursday with the pleasing intelligence that the Board had consented to give up the twenty-two regulations to which the sailors chiefly object. It was at once resolved to return to the ships, and a large fleet that had been lying in the ports some weeks instantly put out. The Yarmouth seamen had unfortunately not received the intelligence in time to prevent their embroilment with the authorities. One of their number was being conveyed on board by constables, by his own consent, when the mob set upon them, and a fierce conflict ensued. Several of the rioters were locked-up, and an attempt at their rescue necessitated the introduction of the military, who quickly restored quiet; but the soldiers are still quartered in the town, as the seamen were determined on making a demonstration yesterday. The seamen of Liverpool have not yet returned to work, standing out for the entire repeal of the law. The seamen of the port of London have held a meeting at Shadwell to petition to the same effect; but there is no fear of their striking.

FATHER GAVAZZI ON MONASTIC ESTABLISHMENTS.

The eloquent father again addressed, on Sunday last, a crowded and enthusiastic audience of his followers, who now count, says the *Daily News*, by thousands, and remind one of the Huguenots excluded from France by the Edict of Nantes. The subject of this, his eighth oration, was, the social effect of monastic establishments.

He began by an allusion to the weeds he wore, and vindicated his retention of the garb of his order, from which no misconduct had cut him off save the glorious imputation of having loved his country, for which he stood an exile before them, and for which he might be now lying in his cold grave with his comrade, Father Ugo Bassi, under the ramparts of Bologna, with five Austrian musket balls in his body. But he lived, and would live on to point the finger of the world's scorn at the felon Mastai, and urge on his countrymen the riddance of all rubbish, regular or secular.

There was a time, the primitive age, when friars were unknown; there then came a time when lonely monasteries in the wilderness arose and were of use; and there followed centuries when cowed brethren in banded communities were called for by the outrageous scandals of the clergy rioting in ignorance and malediction. Those days are gone; knowledge walks abroad, and laymen have ceased to tolerate what their forefathers dared not impugn. Of what use have these orders been in their decline? To wrangle with the parochial pastors, the episcopate, and among each other; to act as spies and pretorian guards in the interest of the Roman bishop; to enliven their leisure with sterile or mischievous disputations about free-will, foreknowledge, grace, and scholastic subtleties.

What are called devotions arose in conflicting and grotesque variety; every order had its own. Dominic flourished his Moorish rosary, the Carmelites held up their scapular; the cord of St. Francis became the *respicere funem*, the end and object of Cordelier Christianity. The Servites obtained a patent for the "seven dolours," the Augustinians set up at Rome their *madonna del parto*, and trafficked on midwifery: for the shop was at the bottom of all these devices, and the pence of the poor or the ducats of opulent ignorance the aim and object of devout contrivances. The *sacra bambino* of Ara Coeli, in the hands of the Zuccolanti, brings in a ducal revenue; and the rural sanctuaries which have displaced the fauns, dryads, and local genii of paganism, are all Californian diggings to the friars who work them. Often have I, in the course of my ministry, witnessed the strife and contention of neighbouring Madonnas, when the civil power had to interfere to prevent the sanguinary collision of devout but rival processions. "Where friars abound, true religion is hopeless," is the remark of every intelligent clergyman in Italy. Rivalry has given an impulse to the building of gorgeous structures, where each order vied with its antagonist in rich mosaic, glittering reliefs, and frescoed walls. But who paid? The patrimony of orphans, swindled from its lawful heirs by the conveyancers of the confessional or of the dying pillow. The splendid Carthusian cloister of Pavia, resplendent with marble and pietra dura, is the price of blood and the abomination of assassination. Every crime had its tariff in masses of masonry. Sodom and Gomorrah produced a pillar of salt for the pardoner's porridge; and as malice abounded the friar's wallet swelled in sympathetic portion.

The father fully admitted that their origin was good, and a revival of sound Christian feeling the concomitant of their first appearance in Europe: but they were now a manifest *hors-d'œuvre*—a foul anachronism, and should have been buried in a common grave with feudalism and serfdom. The monks of the Western Church had promoted agriculture by their manual toil in times of barbarism; but notoriously the worse cared-for lands in Italy were now the convent properties. A spirit of prayer was diffused in the vicinity of primitive monasteries: and sweet in those early days arose, amid the jar of armour and the groans of suffering mankind, the remote music of cloister song. A miserable phantom of mere mechanical and routine performances now remained to tell of bygone fervour and long-lost earnestness. The father did ample justice to the schools and labours of the Benedictine body, while he characterised the sort of training given by the Jesuits to the youth of Europe in the terms used by Bishop Mechior Cano, after the death of Philip II. of Spain: "They took in hand a nation of heroes, and they produced a generation of hens." The same degenerate results marked conventional education under the management of kindred confraternities, Passionists, Liguorists, Somachites, and Redemptorists; but he made exception in favour of the Scolopians. Several orders existed under pretences of philanthropy, such as the Hospitallers of St. John, and the Brotherhood for Redemption of Captives: the Turk or Algerine made no prisoners now, and the only deserving captives in Europe groaned in the dungeons of depots and in the prisons of Pio Nono. He lauded the monks of Mont St. Bernard and Mount Sinai, as contrasting forcibly with the ignoble drones of modern monasticism, whose only business in life is to malign contemporary civilization, and howl at what they can't impede—still at their old work, blaspheming, not Galileo or Columbus, the art of printing or vaccination, but railroads and the electric telegraph, erecting the barriers of their querulous quarantine against every fresh discovery of human genius, wrestling, like Jacob, with the angel of light, and battling to bring back the dark ages with their old disastrous desolation.

Mark these men when they get access to monarchs, and can earwig ministers. It is the old game again. The Jesuit Letellier, aided by the fanatical widow of Scarron, got the tardy Louis XIV. to revoke the Edict of Nantes, and throw back the productive industry of France two centuries. In our own times, the brutal Bomba shows himself the worthy nephew of that Ferdinand and Caroline whose court revived the cruelty as

well as the Caprea of Nero, and rioted in the murders of Cirillo Coraciolo. Is it not the Jesuit Cocco who investigates the saturnalia of atrocities now in course of perpetration at Naples? Is not that brutalized and down-trodden kingdom of the Two Sicilies the beau ideal of monastic handiwork, with its 30,000 victims clanking their chains to the music of monkish *misereres*? Have we not an Archduchess Sophia at Schönbrunn—a dissolute parody of Etrurian Matilda, in propping up the tottering Papacy; compounding with her monkish confessors for personal license by crushing the liberties of mankind?

The father then touched on nunneries. The cloister was repugnant to the freedom of rational homage, alone worthy of God, who can take no delight in his creatures being buried alive. The convent of "sepolte vive," in Naples, was an inhuman and godless atrocity. These establishments, when not converted into clerical seraglios, were at best but abodes of childish imbecility, the broad doctrines of revelation had to be transformed into minute and puerile observances, the petty practices of a capricious and fantastic piety, a mystical jargon distorted the simple precepts of Christianity; and, under the notion of a life of prayer, maidens lead an existence of uselessness. They manufacture *Agnus Deis*, palm branches for Easter, wax tapers for Candlemas, the *pallium*, and sundry objects of confectionery, but the household virtues, filial, spousal, or maternal, are unknown. Female education in such hands was a palpable absurdity. The average mortality prevalent in Italian cloisters showed its pernicious working on body and soul. The poor victims forced to take that step for family reasons lead, of course, to a career of hopeless gloom; but when the voluntary *vestal* repents (as he knew occurred in the majority of instances), what bitter regret wastes and corrodes the blighted years of self-imposed incarceration! The car of Juggernaut rolled over willing suicides and crushed out their life-blood in an ecstasy of fanaticism, but here the sustaining enthusiasm had perished, and the crushing process was continued through days and nights of dismal despondency till death claimed the bride of despair. Was there no law in this land of enlightened humanity to arrest the recruiting serjeants of this infamous enrolment of credulous girls, to swell that melancholy mass of misery, delusion, and remorse? The case of poor Jane Wilbred had elicited a new enactment from the British Legislature for the protection of workhouse apprentices; but, what were the bodily tortures inflicted by the advocate Sloane, compared with the excruciating pangs of a refined and sensitive being, doomed to the long agony of blasted feelings and inward desolation?

The Father concluded his vigorous and impassioned argument with the intimation, that he would resume the subject at Willis's Rooms the next Wednesday (to-day).

DESTRUCTIVE FIRES.—On Wednesday morning a fire broke out in Duke-street, near the south side of London-bridge, which, extending backwards into Tooley-street, committed great devastation in a very short space of time. It broke out in an immense warehouse, the property of Alderman Humphrey, and let by him to Messrs. Wigan and Co., extensive hop merchants, and ignited the hops, valued at £50,000, with which the warehouse was filled. Apprehensions were entertained for the wharves, and even for the shipping. The immense mass of burning material gradually sank until it rested upon the ceiling of the ground-floor. It was a matter of surprise that this floor, in the joint occupation of Mr. Nesbit and Mr. Fenning, and containing large stores of provisions, did not ignite, until Alderman Humphrey arrived, and explained that, after the disastrous fire by which Fenning's wharf and the adjacent premises were destroyed about fourteen years since, he had determined to render the basement story fire-proof, and the upper floors as nearly so as the nature of the building would permit. The fire in 1838 was a much more extensive and disastrous one than the present, bad as it is, for on that occasion the loss was estimated at £250,000, whereas now it is not supposed to exceed £80,000. Beyond the destruction of Messrs. Wigan's offices and warehouse, comparatively little damage has been done. Nearly the whole loss, except that of Mr. Alderman Humphrey, who is only partially protected, is covered by insurances. The supply of water was insufficient. Alderman Humphrey appeared to bear the loss of his property with great equanimity. The fire was not entirely extinct on Monday morning.—A large warehouse, at 34, Eastcheap, occupied by Mr. Joseph Prime, cheese-factor, and Mr. John Roberts, spice merchant, was totally burned on Thursday night. The damage is said to reach several thousand pounds.—Last week, Lord Downe's seat, Isle of Wight, was totally consumed by fire.

THE ELECTIONS OF THE WEEK.—The Bedford election issued, as might be expected from the lateness of Mr. Houghton's appearance, in an enormous majority for his opponent. The polling was taken on Thursday and Friday. On Monday, the High Sheriff attended at the Shire Hall, to declare the state of the poll, and he announced the numbers as follows—for Colonel Gilpin, 1,562; for Mr. Houghton, 558. He thereupon declared Richard Thomas Gilpin, Esq., duly elected, and the two candidates having briefly addressed the electors, the proceedings terminated. The South Staffordshire election, consequent upon the retirement of Lord Brackley from ill health, went off very quietly on Saturday. Mr. Smith Childs presented himself as "an advocate of Conservative principles," and was returned without opposition. The Hon. Stuart Knox has been returned member for Dungannon (Ireland), in room of Lord Northland.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL NEWS.

FRANCE.

French politics have put on no new phase during the week; but the mutual hostility of President and Assembly has been manifested in several overt acts. The committee of the municipal law consists of thirty members, seventeen of whom are hostile to the ministry, and except the incongruous elements of the majority can be made to neutralise each other, another defeat will be sustained—or, what is more probable, the discussion in the Assembly will be protracted till the project for the revision of the constitution comes up. The Assembly has been alarmed, or professed to be so, by the rumour of a meditated *émeute* among the artisans of Paris on behalf of the President; a column of operatives marching on the chamber, as on the 12th of May, compelling obedience to the popular wish. It appears there was no foundation for the rumour beyond the circulation of petitions in the populous faubourgs for the revocation of the vote on the Dotation bill; and the President's adherents retort upon those of the Assembly with charges of another *Allais* affair. It is more probable that the police agents of the Assembly would get up an insurrection which that body might employ the overpowering force at its command to suppress, than that the President would thus precipitate his supposed dangers. His only hope of Parisian popular support must lie in winning the adhesion of the Mountain. It was also rumoured that it was intended to hold a review of 60,000 men on the boulevards; but this the official *Moniteur* has denied. The amnesty is understood to have been resolved upon, and to include all political offenders since the revolution of February—the anniversary of which was to be celebrated with a solemn funeral service in the Cathedral of Notre Dame on Monday.

The Bourbon pretender—the Duke of Bordeaux, or Count de Chambord—has recovered from his illness, and addressed to his eloquent advocate, M. Berryer, a letter intended to counteract the disheartening effect of his Barthélémy circular. The Count describes himself as the "repository of the fundamental principle of the monarchy," and boasts that he will satisfy the wants of France by being in harmony with her social state. Equality before the law, liberty of conscience, the free access of all merits to all employ, to all honours, to all social advantages—these, he says, are the great principles of an enlightened and Christian society, dear and sacred to me as to you, as to all Frenchmen."

I dare to hope that with the aid of all good citizens, of all the members of my family, I shall want neither courage nor perseverance in order to accomplish this work of national restoration, which is the only means of giving back to France those long perspectives of the future, without which the present, even when tranquil, remains uneasy and struck with sterility.

After so many vicissitudes and fruitless attempts, France, enlightened by her own experience, will learn, I am firmly persuaded, to know herself where are her best destinies. On the day when she is convinced that the traditional and secular principles of hereditary monarchy are the surest guarantee of the stability of her government, of the development of her liberties, she will find in me a Frenchman devoted, eager to rally around her all capacities, all talents, all glories, all men, who, by their services, have merited the gratitude of their country.

The manifesto has hitherto fallen harmless—all the leading papers treating it with silence; but General Changarnier is regarded as fairly won over by the Legitimists. The elections for the non-commissioned officers of the National Guard have been completely in favour of the Bonapartists.

A present subject of negotiation between the governments of England and the United States has been taken up in the Assembly. In reply to an interrogatory from M. Schöllcher, representative of Gaudaloupe, as to the enrolment of men of colour, General Lahitte replied:—"The position of the French Republic has been changed by the abolition of slavery, and permitted us to speak with greater right. We have taken, in regard to the United States, all possible steps in order to surmount laws which M. Schöllcher has styled, with reason, barbarous. Neither France nor England have been able to persuade the government of the United States to enter into the ways of civilization and humanity, which we will persevere to march in, and to endeavour to make the United States enter." This speech was accepted by the Assembly as a pledge to pursue, in union with England, a vigorous policy in order to persuade the United States to abolish scandalous and offensive pretension.

At the time we write, how the celebration of the 24th went off is not known; but a banquet of Mountain representatives was to be held, which the Government had at first thought of prohibiting. A thousand and more students went on Sunday in procession from the Ecole de Medicine to the columns of July, at the Place Bastille, and, having deposited crowns at the foot of the columns, retired in order. M. Carlier, the police prefect, was absent, in the country, on the day on which the outbreak was apprehended. He has since engaged to bring the authors of the plot before the proper tribunals; the Executive claiming the credit of having prevented the hostile manifestation. The Assembly has adopted definitively a law of importance on contracts of apprenticeship. Apprentices under 14 years of age are not to work more than 10 hours a day, nor under 16 years more than 12 hours. Those under the latter age are allowed to devote not more than two hours of the day of work to acquiring the rudiments of knowledge. An amendment of the Mountain, leaving this chance of instruction open to apprentices of all ages, was rejected.

GERMANY.

Various independent accounts concur in the representation that the Ministers of Austria and Prussia have been near to a decided rupture, Manteuffel having his eyes opened by the increasing boldness of Schwarzenburg's proposals; protesting, in the name of Prussia, against the erection of a Federal Executive until the Diet had been reconstructed, and against the reduction of votes in the plenum from seventeen to eleven. While this private difference lasted, a full meeting of the Congress was impossible, or worse than useless. But the latest advices state—on the authority, it should be observed, of the official papers—that Manteuffel and Schwarzenburg had again met at Dresden, and effected a reconciliation; that the rotation in the Presidency of the Executive has been conceded by Austria; that Prussia and Bavaria consent to the reception into the Germanic Confederation of all the Austrian provinces, that power engaging to defend the measure against the suspicions and jealousies of the foreign powers; but that the smaller states continue their opposition to the Austrian proposals.

The *Breslau Zeitung* says, that behind the negotiations on the subject of Denmark and the Duchies, Prince Schwarzenburg was carrying on with Count Spinneck, the Danish Minister, during the late diplomatic visit of this Minister to Vienna, other negotiations still more important; viz., a commercial league between Austria and Denmark; a modification of the Sound duty in favour of Austria; and, at Russia's requirement, a plan for abolishing what is called the Democratic constitution of the Danish kingdom.

Bavaria is threatened with a real papal aggression; the Roman Catholic bishops having claimed the exclusive right of education all over Bavaria. They plainly declare that they ignore the constitutional laws which stand against their claim, though they have sworn to uphold and obey them. One of the deputies has appealed to the Government in these clear and forcible terms:—

The episcopate have come to the conclusion that they can never recognise as valid any provisions of the constitution that gainsay their demands, and that they never have recognised any such. By these declarations they place themselves, undoubtedly, out of the pale of, or above, the fundamental laws of the state. They deny that in any case these apply to, or are binding on them, although by their oath to the constitution they have sworn to obey and to maintain them. They thus stand in direct opposition to the laws of the state. Under these circumstances, it appears that some authoritative act of the Government is absolutely necessary. If the Government will not call the constitution itself in question, if it will not countenance the wilfulness of a few men, and leave them free to recognise or not recognise at their pleasure the laws of the land, then must the law come into full action against the bishops.

The Evangelical Church at Dessau have issued a bull excommunicating all the members of the free parishes, cutting them off from all Christian rights and privileges, including that of Christian burial, and denouncing them to all Church people as objects of horror and abhorrence.

The Cabinet of Vienna are said to propose interfering between the Porte and his refractory subjects in the Herzegovina.

A message has been communicated by the King of Hanover's Government to the Diet of that kingdom, explanatory of its conduct in reference to the general affairs of Germany, which, it asserts, "has been guided by those general principles of justice which the Government ascertained by a conscientious examination of the facts of the case."

The Germanic Confederation, though its indissoluble character was recognised by fundamental laws, was, in consequence of the events of 1848 and 1849, deprived of the organ of its joint volition. The suspensions of the functions of such an organ exerted a most lamentable influence.

To supply the want thus created, the Government sent a Royal Commissioner to the Plenary Assembly of the Confederation which was convened on the 10th of May, 1850, and to the Federal Assembly, which met on the 2nd of September of the same year. But when the Government was summoned to take part in the Federal Assembly, its consent was asked to the solemn assurance that it was not the object of that Assembly to return to the old condition and the whole forms, but that its object was to remodel the Confederation according to the necessities of the time, and in the meanwhile to guarantee the superintendence over the common affairs of the German countries, so as to assert their dignity and importance in the system of European States, and to protect their interests according to the fundamental laws of the Confederation.

After referring to the pacificatory policy of the Government, in reference to Hesse and Holstein, the message goes on to say:—

The military power of Hanover cannot give that country so much importance as a consistent and equitable foreign and domestic policy is sure to do. And in this equitable policy the Government has been supported by the resolution of the Diet of the 16th of January, 1850, which directs it to procure a constitution of Germany by means of the development of the existing law. Nor need the Government repent of the course which it has taken. Relying on similar sentiments in its mightier allies, even at times when the rights of the Confederation seemed for the moment to be misunderstood, the Hanoverian Government, assured and confident of the justness of its cause, stood unmoved amidst the warlike preparations which convulsed the major part of Germany, and the expense of a mobilization of its armed force was thus spared to the country. The consequence has been, that the Government has had the extreme gratification to witness the establishment of amicable relations in the place of menacing dissensions and of a separation between the north and south of Germany. The danger of a war, with all its fatal consequences, has been removed, and the two great powers

are now united in the endeavours to remodel Germany by means of a revision of the existing Federal Constitution. The fidelity of Hanover to the existing Federal law, and the pacific attitude of the north-west of Germany, have materially assisted in obtaining these favourable results. The Hanoverian Government has, moreover, readily sent its plenipotentiary to the Conferences which were opened for the purpose of revising the constitution. The instructions of that plenipotentiary contain a distinct expression of the solicitude of the Government for the fulfilment of the constitutional promises which it has given. Deeply imbued with respect for the existing law, the Government has positively refused to recognise any exceptional resolutions which, according to its opinion, ought to be foreign to the legislation of the Confederation. It has not lent itself to any intervention in any neighbouring State; and, although its attempts at a reconciliation of the conflicting interests have been void of success, the Hanoverian Government still continues, and proposes to continue, to exert its influence for the above purpose. Recognising the obligations of a treaty of peace and the injunctions of the Federal law, the Government has taken part in the transactions of the Federal Assembly respecting the affairs of another Federal province (Holstein). And while it assented to the resolution of the Federal Assembly, by which this question too was committed to the two great powers, the Hanoverian Government advocated the protection of the rights of Germany according to the Federal resolutions of the 17th of September, 1846. The Government hopes that the Diet will fully understand and appreciate its conduct in the questions to which it has referred.

The Message is signed by the Ministers—Munchausen, Lindemann, Rossi, Jacobi, Meyer, and Hanmerstein.

ITALY.

Siccardi's resignation has been accepted, and he has been named First President of the Court of Appeal. Monsieur Saluzzo, his probable successor, is of very liberal opinions. The foreign minister, the Marquis of Azeglio, has made a speech which has produced a great and fortunate sensation. He contended that "honesty is the best policy," that there is not a conscience and honour for public men different from that which regulates the transactions of private life; and appealed to the house to bear him witness that truth and probity have characterised the policy of his government at home and abroad. He referred to the circumstances under which the present Government came into power at the close of the campaign of Novara, in a state overwhelmed by two great successive disasters; he congratulated his countrymen that Piedmont was still in existence—free, independent, and happy. Its preservation, under Providence, was due to the honour and probity of its King, the prudence of its Parliament, and the virtue of its people. The radical deputy, Brofferio, having recommended the Government to break off all connexion with foreign powers, the Minister replied that Piedmont was part of the great European community. It was not in its power completely to isolate itself; and diplomacy must still be resorted to, if not otherwise, at least in self-defence; and it was important that the Sardinian representatives should be chosen with regard to their character and abilities rather than to their rank and wealth, and, consequently, enabled by competent salaries to keep up the dignity of the country. His proposals were adopted with acclamation, including one for the reduction of the expenditure, by the suppression of ministers to Portugal, the United States, Sweden, Bavaria, and Brazil.

Our Queen's speech was received in Rome, it is stated, with great disappointment by the liberals, but with satisfaction by the Court. It was published in the official *Giornale di Roma* on the evening of the 11th, the seventh day after its delivery; and the value of the *Giornale* that evening was enhanced by the seizure of all the English papers which arrived the next morning, all of them being confiscated at the post-office by order of the superior authorities. The Pope has had struck, as a souvenir of Gaeta, fifteen gold medals, very large and handsome, the value of the gold in each being 200 dollars. The die, which was broken immediately after the coining of the fifteen medals, was executed by Cerbara, and represented the Pope's head on the obverse, and a view of Gaeta on the reverse. This token of Pio Nono's gratitude will shortly be presented to the ambassadors and ministers who followed him in his temporary exile.

Among other illustrations of the Pontifical régime it is stated that the sale of Professor Sarti's library was suddenly put a stop to as soon as commenced by the arrival of a posse of police agents. Amongst his books were twenty-one volumes of manuscript correspondence between the governments of Rome and Venice, from the time of Pope Paul Caraffa downwards. Monsignor Molia, a great friend of the late Professor, knowing of these volumes, which were in cypher with their interpretations, hastened to tell Cardinal Antonelli, who despatched orders just in time to save the secrets of the State from further divulgence. Lord Fielding's coachman has received a sudden summons from the police, and the Right Hon. Mr. Nicol's cook has been ordered to leave Rome immediately, neither of them being Romans born, besides the enormity of their having cooked victuals and driven carriages for some ephemeral authorities during the Republican régime.

SWITZERLAND.

A letter from Berne, of the 18th inst., informs us (the *Daily News*) that the Federal Council has issued a decree to put an end to the uneasiness felt at the residence of French refugees near the frontier. They have been hitherto restricted to a distance of eight leagues, but this regulation was frequently eluded from the facilities of travelling in Switzerland, and the refugees visited Geneva, and even Lausanne and Vevey. They are now inter-

dicted from residing in the cantons of Geneva, Vaud, Fribourg, Valais, Neufchâtel, and the Bernese Jura. It is also interdicted to the above-named cantons, and to those of the Grisons and Tessino, to give an asylum to Italian refugees, and measures have been taken to enforce the execution of this prohibition; but they will be allowed to receive German refugees. The number of refugees of all nations who now find an asylum in Switzerland is not so great as to be any real cause for alarm to the neighbouring states, since it has been reduced to less than 500, by the numerous expulsions and the large sums which the federal treasury had expended in sending them to England and the United States. These 500 refugees are distributed in the cantons according to their population, and are subjected to the surveillance of the authorities. The chiefs of the German insurrections have long since been expelled; one only, named Barbo, a Baden lawyer, had succeeded in remaining in the canton of Bâle-campagne under a false name, but had just been discovered and arrested. Another, named D'Ester, had, from different motives, obtained delays, but they have both now quitted Switzerland. All that has been said about military organization of the refugees, their recruiting, and the dépôts of arms, is pure invention. It is pretended that Mazzini, who was last year expelled from Switzerland, has since returned there. All the search made after him has been hitherto without result.

SPAIN.

The ministry is carrying out after the fashion of more advanced Governments, its profession of economy, docking the salaries of unfortunate subordinates. The committee on the bill for the adjustment of the debt meet daily, but there is much difference of opinion among them.

The inauguration of the Madrid and Aranjuez Railroad took place on the 9th inst. with great solemnity, and in presence of an immense concourse of people. The Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of Spain, bestowed his blessing on the engine. Salamanca, the principal proprietor and director of the railroad, was made Count of Siemposuelo, and the engineers received crosses of distinction. To travel by it became at once a perfect mania, the ticket offices being constantly besieged. The ignorant inhabitants of the villages near which the railroad passes, not comprehending its immense advantages, look at it with an evil eye, and greeted the convoys with execrations as they stopped at the stations. The passengers, highly delighted at the opportunity of cracking metropolitan jokes at the expense of the swarthy peasants, replied with a chorus of such witicism as they bestow upon the unsuccessful matadores at the bull fight. Some of the peasants attempted to revenge themselves in a more practical way by tearing up some railing, but they were caught in the fact and imprisoned.

TURKEY.

A short time since an outbreak took place at Aleppo, and the European papers gave alarming accounts of the sufferings to which the Christians resident there had been subjected. The Pasha has made a report, from which it appears that these statements were greatly exaggerated, and that the Government is doing all in its power to repair the injuries inflicted, besides punishing the assailants with the indiscriminate rigour of Oriental rulers. A correspondent of the *Daily News*, writing from Aleppo, says:—"A very mistaken idea seems to exist in Europe as to the position of Christians in the East. So far from being oppressed by their Mussulman fellow-citizens, their interests are more looked after by the Sublime Porte than those of the followers of the Prophet. Some of the European powers, for the purpose of increasing their influence amongst the rayah population, are always ready to display, through their agents, their sympathy for the Christian subjects of the Sultan. In any matter of dispute between a Christian and a Mussulman, the former has but to complain to one of the European consuls, and a verdict is instantly obtained in his favour, even though he should be in the wrong."

The Porte and his Egyptian viceroy, according to the latest accounts, are peaceably composing their differences. The insurgents in Herzegovina have suffered a complete defeat; and the pacification of Bosnia was considered all but complete.

AMERICA.

The first item of news from the United States will be pleasant to our readers—that the Committee of Congress on Foreign Relations have reported on the petition from the American Peace Society, which had been referred to them, that it would be desirable for the Government to secure a provision in its treaties with other nations, for referring all future difficulties to the decision of umpires before the commencement of hostilities.

A coloured woman had been arrested in Philadelphia as a fugitive slave, and examined before the U.S. Commissioner. She is the mother of six children, the youngest at the breast. It was admitted by the claimant that she had been absent for over one and twenty years. Her children were born in Pennsylvania, the eldest being about 17 years of age. A writ of habeas corpus was issued in her behalf, by which she was brought before Judge Kane, of the U.S. Circuit Court. After a protracted examination of evidence, the Judge decided in favour of the woman, and she was discharged from custody. Her release occasioned a delirium of excitement among the coloured population, who took the horses from the carriage in which she had been placed with her children, and dragged them with shouts and songs of triumph to their home.

Great anxiety was felt with respect to the steam-

ship "Atlantic," which had been out three or four weeks on her return voyage; but experienced nautical men did not yet abandon the hope of her safety. The steamer "Canada" fell in with fields of ice from three to ten feet thick, near Halifax, and was obliged to put about; but at last pushed through, with the loss of nearly all her floats.

News from Nicaragua up to the 13th ult., possesses unusual interest. The State election has taken place, and Don Jose Sacasa been chosen Director of Nicaragua. The national convention of delegates from the three States of Nicaragua, Honduras, and San Salvador, met at Chinandega on the 21st of December. The statement of war between Honduras and San Salvador on the one side, and Guatemala on the other, proves to be incorrect. The difficulties existed in Guatemala alone, growing out of the refusal of the inhabitants of the mountain provinces to concur in the policy adopted by the central government at the instance of Mr. Frederick Chatfield. A part of the population declared against the central government, and in favour of a federal union of the States. To put down this opposition a fight at Chiquimula took place, which issued in the defeat of the Government troops. San Salvador and Honduras merely stationed a levy of troops on the frontiers to defend their own territories in case of need. The blockade of the ports of San Salvador appears, therefore, to have been a wanton outrage on the part of Mr. Chatfield.

A destructive fire has taken place in Valparaiso, consuming houses and other property to the amount of 250,000 dollars—the principal sufferers are shipowners, mechanics, and small trades-people; 34 families being burnt out. Some French sailors, belonging to the brig of war "Entreprenant," which sent an engine to the aid of the inhabitants, sustained considerable injury in the attempt to check the fire. The British ships "Nereus" and "Asia," also rendered effectual service, by sending engines, and a number of their crew to man them.

Jamaica papers report that up to the 31st of January, the cholera was still prevailing in certain localities, although in some it had decreased, and in others had entirely disappeared. In the town of Falmouth there were no remaining cases, and the accounts from the rural districts of the parish were encouraging. A serious riot, with loss of life, had taken place at the election for the parish of St. David's. The Government candidate was on a level with his Conservative opponent, and to prevent the return of the former, a row seems to have been got up, which issued in a dreadful affray; the Court-house being demolished, the police much hurt, and the coroner (Mr. Maclean) so cruelly beat that he died in a few hours. A verdict of "Wilful Murder," had been given against three persons, who were in custody; and the Government candidate had been returned.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

M. Arago, the celebrated astronomer, is dangerously ill.

Mrs. Fanny Kemble is giving her readings from Shakespeare, at Hertz's rooms, in Paris. She is much applauded, but has a scanty audience.

The French papers say that Count d'Orsay is appointed Minister to the Court of Hanover, and that the Duke de Guiche is to be First Secretary of Embassy in London.

The *Constitutionnel* says—"Letters from Geneva state that the Italian refugees place great hopes in the efforts making by Garibaldi to cause a rising in a part of Italy which he has recently penetrated."

Owing to the bigoted inhumanity of the priesthood, a poor girl of Chambery, who had died by taking poison and was denied the rites of sepulture, was buried publicly in the cemetery by a crowd of people, who shouted "Vive Siccardi!" "A bas la culotte!" "A bas les pretres!"

The Austrian Government had forbidden all persons to wear articles of dress or ornaments indicating political opinion. In spite of this some pupils of the Polytechnic School persisted in wearing their hair extraordinarily long. They were a few days ago ordered to get it cut; but as they did not at once obey they were stopped by the police as they were leaving the school, and a number of hairdressers soon reduced their flowing locks to almost puritanical dimensions. The ministers, however, strongly censured the imprudent zeal of their subordinates.

Sir Charles Napier's progress towards Bombay has been quite enthusiastic. At Hyderabad the Beloochee chiefs assembled from all parts of the province to do him honour. He was similarly received at Kurrachee, and a parting entertainment was to be given to him by the community of Bombay.

Mr. Robert Stephenson, the eminent engineer, has left Alexandria for Malta, with a party of friends, in his yacht "Titania." After having travelled from Cairo to Alexandria by land, in order to survey the country, he is very decided in his opinion of the expediency and great advantages of a railroad between the two towns.

All the Hungarian refugees, excepting twenty-five or thirty servants, most of whom intend returning to Austria, have left Shumla for Constantinople. It was arranged that all of them should sail for Liverpool, and each person received 500 piastres as a present from the Turkish Government. When the ship sailed all the Poles left with her, but the Hungarians could not be induced to go on board, a certain Dobakai having informed them that disturbances were about to take place in France, and that they would probably again find work in their own country. As the Magyars have spent their 500 piastres, they are in a sad state of destitution.

L'Abbe Massieu, a seceder from the Church of Rome, is industriously disseminating the Holy Scriptures in Paris. An officer of the National Guard has also been engaged in this good work. He gladly accepted a number of French copies from English members of the late Peace Congress—one hundred of which he placed in the hands of "The Brothers of Christian Doctrine"—a Roman Catholic order devoted to teaching—by whom they were received with joy.

The Pope has erected three new sees in the West Indian colonies of France.

Letters from Constantinople announce Dembinski's liberation and arrival at that city.

Natal Colony appears to be progressing favourably. Richmond and Byrnes had been founded as villages on the river Illovo; and a public meeting has been held at D'Urban to form a municipality.

The accounts from California are not so encouraging as formerly. The mines were yielding less than during the past season, but preparations were being made to work the quartz mines during the coming spring and summer with great energy, by the aid of machinery and steam.

The Isthmus of Tehuantepec is being surveyed prior to operations. A corps of American engineers, under Colonel Barnard, an accomplished U.S. officer, arrived at the mouth of the Huazcualco on the 24th of December, making the run from Vera Cruz, 137 miles, in a single day.

The Union Club, of New York, together with a few shipowners, have started a subscription of 100,000 dollars for the purpose of building a clipper ship, which they propose to match against any similar vessel built in England, in a voyage from Liverpool to New York. 75,000 dollars are already subscribed. On the completion of the ocean race, both ships are to belong to the victorious party. The challenge has been accepted by Messrs. T. Tucker and Co., of Liverpool.

The crew of H.M.S. "Herald," on an Arctic voyage, learned vague story from the Esquimaux of a party of white men encamped 300 or 400 miles inland, and that they had been murdered by the natives. It is scarcely possible the party can be Sir J. Franklin's.

PARLIAMENTARY AND FINANCIAL REFORM.—A crowded public meeting was held in the Lancasterian Institute, St. Mary's Cray, Kent, on Wednesday evening, for the purpose of promoting the principles of the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association. The meeting was addressed by Sir Joshua Walmsley, Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Slack, and Mr. Joynson. Sir Joshua Walmsley said:—

The association they were asked to support had been in existence about two years and a half, and its progress had been almost unparalleled. It commenced under great difficulties, as almost every political association did. Its great object was to obtain for their fellow-men justice, by placing in their hands the privilege, as some called it, but the right, as they termed it, of the franchise. He was himself perfectly convinced of the integrity, the uprightness, and the intelligence of the industrious classes of this country, and if they had the franchise, could it for a moment be supposed that the House of Commons would now be wasting its time in discussing as to which of the religious bodies should have the greatest share of the loaves and fishes? or debating the question of free-trade? This association thought the time had arrived long since when the franchise ought to have been extended and placed upon a proper basis. He came there to ask them to support the principles on which the association was founded, and to assist in placing them in a position in which they could tell Lord John Russell that the proper time had now arrived.

Mr. Gibson, in the course of his address, said it seemed as if the great virtue of our constitution was its exclusiveness, there being only one out of every seven adult males who possessed the franchise:—

Now, with regard to this voting for members of Parliament, what were they afraid of? They admitted a man to marry a wife, and they let him have children [a laugh]—and they allowed him to educate those children as he best could, and they let him turn those children loose upon society; and they let him be at large and employ the various talents with which God had blessed him. Now, he said that in the discharge of all these functions, a man might exercise a much greater influence upon society, either for good or for bad, than by being one of a vast number who voted for members of Parliament. It appeared to him, that if there was such a thing as a right which a man was entitled to exercise, it was the right of voting for those who were to make the laws which he was called upon to obey.

The hon. gentleman added the old but good story of the dead donkey:—

It was a very puzzling thing, this question of the qualification, and he remembered the story of a voter in one of the United States, where the qualification was the being possessed of property to the amount of 20s. One of the voters qualified by reason of possessing a donkey which was of that value [laughter]. It happened that his donkey died, and when he went up to vote he was told that, because his donkey was dead, he could not vote. "Oh," said the man, "I never knew before that it was my donkey that had the vote, and not myself" [laughter].

At the conclusion of the meeting, 100 members were enrolled, and £100 subscribed to the funds of the association, including a cheque for £50 from Mr. Joynson, of St. Mary's Cray.

The Irish Engineering Company at Dublin are now making the castings for the large bridge over the Wye at Chepstow, for the South Wales Railway. The company also furnished the castings required for the extensive new works of the Brighton Railway at the London Bridge terminus. It is supposed that so large castings have never before been supplied by Ireland to England.

IRELAND.

The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill occupies the Irish people and newspapers to the exclusion of tenant-right and every other topic. The agitation is becoming daily more intense, and has already penetrated the remotest corners of the country. On Thursday a great meeting was held in the Dublin Rotunda. The meeting was nominally composed of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the parishes of St. Mary, St. George, and St. Thomas, but the people assembled from all parts of the metropolis, and a great many Protestants were also present and took part in the proceedings. The chair was occupied by Mr. R. Kelly, town councillor, and among those on the platform were the Earl of Milltown, Mr. H. Grattan, M.P., Archdeacon Hamilton, Mr. J. M. Cantwell, &c. The Earl of Milltown, who, on entering the room was received with loud cheers, begged leave to explain why, being neither a Catholic nor a parishioner of the parishes named in the requisition, he had attended that meeting, and went on to protest, in the most energetic manner, as an Irishman, a Protestant, and a Christian, against the extension of the bill to Ireland. The most remarkable feature in the proceedings was the announcement made by Archdeacon Hamilton that Archbishop Murray was at that moment preparing a pastoral to the Roman Catholic clergy of the archdiocese of Dublin, to be read from the altars on Sunday. The rev. gentleman said:—

That was essentially a lay meeting, but it had the fullest sanction of the clergy. He had just returned from the Archbishop of Dublin [cheers]; and before that meeting and before the country he would call him the Archbishop of Dublin [cheers]. He had not been made so by law, and the law could not unmake him. He was at that moment preparing a pastoral to be addressed to every clergyman in his diocese, calling upon the faithful people to pray against the persecution that had been raised against them, and denouncing the nefarious bill that had been projected. He had been the first to move in this matter. The moment the law was called for in England he assembled his clergy to protest against the insult offered to their holy religion by the insulting letter of Lord John Russell, and he was going now to address them to denounce the bill from every altar in the country [loud cheers, and waving of hats]. He hoped that that meeting would give a tone to those in every parish in Ireland. He would tell the minister that if the measure in question were extended to Ireland, the universal voice of the country would, in the most constitutional, but most determined, manner, resist it.

Among the resolutions, which were couched in strong language, and were carried by acclamation, was one expressing approbation of the conduct of the Protestant Dissenters of Ireland, as having, with some few exceptions, abstained from joining in the cry of fanaticism against their countrymen, and thereby afforded a marked contrast to the conduct of the Dissenters of England. Mr. Grattan, Mr. Cantwell, and several other gentlemen, addressed the meeting in strains of indignant eloquence.

Archbishop Murray's pastoral appeared the next morning in the *Freeman's Journal*, and, from the well-known mildness and anti-political temperament of the writer, has produced a great sensation. It commences—

Beloved Brethren.—The hand of persecution is about to be once more extended over us, and a new element of civil discord cast amongst us. Under the pretence of resisting what is untruly called a "papal aggression," a bill has been introduced into Parliament subversive of our religious discipline, hostile to the freedom of our religious worship, and fraught with mischief to the interests of our poor. In the bitterness of my heart, therefore, I call on you and your flocks to send up to the Lord of Mercy your fervent supplications that He, who by His wisdom hath appointed man that he might have dominion over the creature that was made by Him (Wisd. ix. 1, &c. &c.), may vouchsafe to inspire our rulers with that wisdom that sitteth by His throne, that they may execute justice with an upright heart, not for the benefit of a fraction, but for the peace, and happiness, and social welfare of the entire people over whom He has placed them. Besides calling on your flocks for this salutary purpose, you will please to add the collect, "Pro Praeclaris et Congregationibus Eis Commissis," to the other collects of the day, in every mass which shall be celebrated, as long as this persecuting bill shall be under the consideration of Parliament.

The proposed law is described as "forbidding us, under penalties which we could not pay, and non-payment of which would doom us to a prison, to acknowledge, even to our own flocks, that we are what they know us to be, the pastors whom the head of our Church, acting according to its known discipline, has placed over them":—

What adds to the palpable injustice of such a law is the insulting mockery of pretending that it leaves untouched our religious liberty. No; the variety of ways in which this grievous law, if strictly enforced, would harass us in the unavoidable exercise of our merely spiritual functions, would take away from you, as well as from us, even the semblance of religious freedom. But this is not all. The poor also are to be made its victims. Famine and pestilence have not, it seems, done enough to render this unfortunate country one of the most afflicted nations of the earth—this law was still wanting to fill up the cup of its afflictions. Its poor are not yet wretched enough, the current of charity must be stopped. If a pious Catholic, moved by the express command of his Saviour and his Judge to "give alms," should entrust the fruits of his benevolence to his spiritual pastor, and call him, even through mistake, by his proper title, the holy gift is torn from the destined objects of his charity, and may be employed by Protestant hands to corrupt the faith through which he hoped for salvation. And this, too, is for us called religious freedom; and this is the return which the Catholic clergy are to receive for their efforts in the hour of trial for the preservation of public order.

The next day "John of Tuam" launched from St. Jarlath's another thunderbolt, in the form of a letter

to the Premier. The Established Church is denounced as "tolerant of everything but truth;" and the Irish members who voted for the Ministry on Mr. Disraeli's motion, are bitterly reproached for having lost that golden opportunity of destroying the Ministry. However little Lord John Russell may care for these fulminations, those of the Irish members who still cling to him feel them. Several have written to the local papers excusing their vote on that occasion; others are called upon to resign—among them Sir W. Somerville. The *Kerry Examiner* publishes the names of the fourteen who supported the Ministry on Mr. Disraeli's motion, surrounded by a mourning border, printing the names of the two O'Connells in large capitals, and holding them up to execration; while the "twenty" are thanked at all public meetings. Limerick and Drogheda have had great public demonstrations; and petitions were signed at the chapels in nearly every diocese on Sunday.

A protest against the bill has been issued by the Roman Catholic bar. The eighty-eight names attached to the document include those of twelve Queen's counsel, including two serjeants (Hawley and O'Brien), several assistant barristers, and others holding official appointments under the Crown.

THE NEW MANCHESTER EDUCATIONAL SCHEME.—On Wednesday, an important meeting was held, in the Mayor's parlour, at Manchester, to receive the report of the committee on the Rev. C. Richson's Manchester and Salford Municipal Boroughs Education Scheme. The subscriptions put down will show the influential character of the meeting:—Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth, £500; W. Entwistle, £500; Samuel Fletcher, £500; Wm. Neild, £500; J.C. Marter, £500; Robt. Gardner, £500; Edwd. Tootal, £500; R. J. Jones, £500; William Slater, £500; T. and R. Barnes, £500; John Peel, £500; George Chappell, £100; the Dean and Chapter, £200; J. Westhead, £100; Dr. Wood, £250; J. Aspinall Turner, £100. The £100 subscriptions are available at once; the £500 subscriptions are to be called for in sums of £100 at a time. The plan itself has been subjected to some amendment, and a draught has been published. It is proposed that the school committees of Manchester and Salford be annually elected by the Municipal Councils, who are empowered to levy a school-rate, not to exceed 5d. in the pound. The Committee of Council on Education is to be asked to appoint two local inspectors at least. All schools now open to her Majesty's inspectors, may be placed in union with the district committees, as free schools, on agreeing to certain conditions, of which one is—"Not to compel children attending any such schools to learn any creed or formulay, or to attend any Sunday-school, or place of religious worship, to which their parents or persons having the care and maintenance of them shall in writing object." In all other schools it is required, as a condition of union, that the reading of the Bible in the Authorized Version shall be a part of the daily instruction of the scholars. Parents in each district are to have the right of requiring free education for all children above four years of age. Schools in union may be assisted in repairs. The district committees are to pay to managers of schools in union 4d. per week for every scholar being a boy registered as attending such school, and 3d. for every girl or infant under seven years of age. No payment, however, shall be made out of the rate to any school in which the master or teacher shall be a person in holy orders, or a minister of religion, or engaged in teaching other than free scholars. Guardians of the poor are to require the children between four and twelve years of age of persons receiving out-door parochial relief to attend the school. Any person assessed to the poor-rate for not less than £20 a-year is to be eligible, whether a member of the Municipal Council or not, to be elected a member of the committee of management of a school erected by the district committee. This committee is to consist of fifteen members, elected by the Municipal Council; one third to retire annually. In schools erected by the district committee, instruction in the daily reading of the Holy Scriptures always to be provided for, but no distinctive creed or religious formulay to be taught. All expenses under the act to be chargeable to the school-rate, and an annual balance-sheet, and lists of children, &c., to be published.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF CONVICTS AT PORTSMOUTH.—A deputation, appointed by the Portsmouth Town Council to wait on the Home Secretary in reference to the projected convict prison adjoining the dock-yard, have reported the results of their interview. They stated that "the Home Secretary had entered fully into the subject, stating that, after long and mature consideration, the Government had come to the determination to abolish the present system of confining convicts in hulks, on the grounds—first, of the saving to the country which would be effected by their being confined in prisons on shore; and secondly, for the enforcement of a better system of discipline than could possibly be maintained in prison ships. With reference to the apprehensions entertained by the inhabitants of Portsmouth of a large addition being contemplated in the convict establishment, Sir G. Grey added, that while the present hulks would take 1,280 convicts, the intended prison would contain only 1,000." A less objectionable site to that resolved on was suggested to Sir George, but he replied that it was the convenience of the Admiralty that was mainly to be considered.

The area in front of St. Paul's Cathedral at the top of Ludgate-hill is now opened to the public by order of the dean and chapter. Three gates are thrown open for the ingress and egress of visitors, and two police-men have been appointed to keep order.

OPPOSITION TO THE BUDGET.

On Wednesday evening a special meeting of the delegates of the various Metropolitan parishes took place at the Court-house, Marylebone, for the purpose of considering the declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The most extraordinary excitement appeared to prevail. Among the Members of Parliament present were—Lord Duncan, Sir B. Hall, Mr. Wakley, Mr. J. Williams, Mr. Mowatt, Mr. J. Bell, Sir D. Lacy Evans, Mr. C. Lushington, &c. Mr. J. Nicholay, the Chairman of the delegates, having been called to the chair, observed that that assembly was, in fact, a council of war; and they meant to show the Chancellor of the Exchequer that they meant war, and no mistake [cheers]. What they had assembled for was to consider the budget [groans, hisses, and cries of "We'll make him budge it!"] He pronounced it the greatest insult and the greatest piece of humbug that was ever attempted to be perpetrated upon the people [cheers]. It was neither more nor less than a downright swindle [loud cheers]—and entitled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the cognomen of "Thimblerigger-General to Her Majesty" [hear, hear]. The game was in the hands of the people of the metropolis. The position of the Ministry was so tottering that the metropolitan members could turn the balance [most tremendous cheering]. The game was in their hands, and, to speak in plain English, they would not suffer themselves to be humbugged [hear, and cheers]. They had not only been taken in by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but done for. [Lord Duncan: Not yet. Tremendous cheering.] So far from accepting a house-tax as a boon, they were determined to fling it back in his face with the contempt it deserved [loud cheers]. Lord Duncan did not mince the matter. A more disgraceful insult to the people was never proposed by any Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was a complete humbug [cheers]. He repeated the word "humbug" [renewed cheering]. He called upon the metropolis to speak out upon this insult on their understanding, and the sooner they spoke the better [tremendous cheering]. Sir B. Hall could answer for himself and noble colleague, who was unavoidably absent, that they would both vote against the income-tax [tremendous cheering for several minutes]. Lord Duncan pledged himself to be by the side of the hon. baronet in his vote on the income-tax unless the window-tax was at once repealed [cheers]. Mr. Wakley, M.P., gave a humorous description of the political suicide which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had committed, and declared that, even at the risk of turning out the Ministry, he should take the same course as the hon. baronet, Sir B. Hall, had proposed [cheers]. Mr. Mowatt, M.P., said, the fall or the maintenance of the Government was in the hands of the metropolis, and declared his intention of supporting the same views as the hon. member who had preceded him. Mr. John Williams, M.P., made a similar declaration, and the resolution was carried. The meeting passed several stringent resolutions.

The ward of Aldersgate, the parish of St. Luke, and other districts of the metropolis have also met; and before the week is out all London and the suburbs will have pronounced.

In Bath, and several other provincial towns, parish meetings are going forward; but no great public demonstration has yet been made.

FLAX EXPERIMENTS AT ROCHDALE.—We regret to learn that Chevalier Claussen has abandoned the idea of spinning flax on the ordinary cotton machinery, and that his experiments, which have for some time been carried on at the works of Messrs. Bright, are at an end. The common system of carding cotton is found not to be at all applicable to the flax fibre, and that a more expensive and tedious process will have to be adopted. We understand that a Bradford manufacturer has purchased a share in the patent, and intends making some further experiments, which, it is hoped, may result in the successful amalgamation of flax with worsted goods. —*Manchester Examiner*.

CO-OPERATIVE LABOUR IN NEWCASTLE.—Some time ago, it was intimated in our columns that the journeymen tailors of this town had formed an association on the principle of the co-operative institutions of the metropolis, for the double purpose of maintaining the rate of remuneration in the trade and of furnishing work to the unemployed. This experiment has now been in operation about three months. It began with a capital contributed by the men in £1 shares, and managed by a committee who also superintend the general affairs of the association. Work to the value of £150 has been done since the commencement, giving employment to eight, and occasionally twelve men, who average 21s. weekly wages for ten hours' daily labour. Such are the beginnings of a system which is in much favour with the industrial classes, and is rapidly extending to various trades. From inquiries we have made, we find the Newcastle tailors extremely gratified with the success of their effort. Besides paying the highest rate of wages, the association has realized a fair profit on its outlay. The moral and social condition of the men so employed, is also, we learn, considerably benefited. Neither drinking nor smoking is allowed in their workshop, and none addicted to such practices are admitted to their fellowship. Another favourable circumstance is, that the patrons of the association, who are chiefly, but not wholly, working men, have uniformly expressed their unqualified satisfaction with the quality and cost of the articles supplied.—*Newcastle Guardian*.

PARLIAMENTARY AND FINANCIAL REFORM.

THE COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY AND FINANCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION TO THE PEOPLE.

Fellow-countrymen.—It devolves upon us to address you at a moment of grave interest.

The government of Lord John Russell is virtually defunct. A new administration must forthwith be formed; and the nation will possibly be required to express its opinion upon public policy.

Parliamentary and Financial Reformers, of every class and of every shade of sentiment, are deeply concerned in the event. It now becomes our duty to give full expression to our demands. We are required to be bold, energetic, and decided. We have great and sacred ends in view; the moment has arrived when we must nerve ourselves for their achievement.

Fellow-countrymen, let us review our position.

The Radical Reformers of the United Kingdom, having objects of common interest, have for years lacked common union. It has, indeed, been no selfish motive that has distracted us. Our want of union has mainly arisen from fear of injuring a government in which, though none of us shared, some of us confided. Our very latest experience of the administration, on questions involving parliamentary and financial reform, may serve indeed to show that the fear was as groundless as the confidence was misplaced, and may teach us all to lay to heart how far preferable to dependence on a party is reliance on our own energies and earnest efforts.

Fellow-countrymen, these apprehensions need no longer affect any of us. Our path is cleared of the one great difficulty; we may now unite to tread it in pursuit of our common end. Our requirements are just. We a k—

For Free Trade, in all its integrity.

For Parliamentary Reform, immediate and complete.

For Financial Amelioration, economical and equitable.

This is the British Reformers' Bill of Rights; and if they ask for nothing more, the British people can assuredly be satisfied with nothing less.

Such being our reasonable requirements, how may we now attain them?

It is known to all of us that the aristocracy, although one exclusive oligarchy, is severed into two factions, each division with its followers. Being nearly equally divided, these factions, in a political crisis, are compelled to bid one against the other for the people's favour. The administration of Lord Melbourne offered as a boon a fixed duty upon corn; the government of Sir Robert Peel subsequently outbid them by proposing a total repeal of every tax on our food. In like manner other tenders for our favour will be made by the various factions now bidding for place and power. Be it our task, setting aside all other considerations and prejudices whatsoever, to secure that the party, which is allowed to rule, provides for us nothing less than the full measure of justice we demand.

The Parliamentary and Financial Reformers of Great Britain—comprising the independent voters of the empire and the great masses of the industrial population—are those whose favour public parties, of necessity, must seek. Fellow countrymen, the people hold the balance; our weight thrown into either scale may turn the beam. Let us bear in mind, then, the importance and the responsibilities of our position, not merely as they affect ourselves, but as they affect the entire unenfranchised and overburdened people. Let us pledge ourselves one to another, and to society at large, to be earnest, energetic, and united, in the performance of the duty now devolving on us. Let us pledge ourselves to accept no Government failing short of full acquiescence in our three demands; and, if a Government be formed distinctly recognising, and implicitly pledging itself to carry out, our principle, let us not be diverted from our object by any other cry, but let acquiescence in those principles be our single test. To the people, neither the support of factions nor the aggrandisement of families can, or ought to be, matters of concern. "Whig" and "Tory" are nothing to us, save as they will advance the People's Bill of Rights.

Upon Parliamentary and Financial Reformers who, under the present limited system, are electors of the United Kingdom, it now devolves to advance the interests of the bread-eater, of the tax-payer, and of the unenfranchised man of intelligence. The Council are anxious to impress the immediate necessity of preparation. Arrangements cannot too soon be made to bring forward competent and faithful candidates for Parliament, prepared to fight the people's battles upon the people's principles. In making their selection, let electors take non-electors into their confidence; and, sinking for the future every minor difference, unite in obtaining a complete expression of the nation's feeling in favour of the People's Bill of Rights.

(By order of the Council),

JOSHUA WALMSLEY, President.

Saturday, Feb. 22, 1851.

THE GREAT EXHIBITION.—The following list of goods already received at the Glass Palace has been issued by the Exhibition authorities. It will be observed that up to the present time there are more contributions in the building from Canada than from any other part of the world.

QUANTITY OF FOREIGN GOODS RECEIVED.

Return of the Number of Packages received and placed in the Hoardings of the Countries to which they belong, up to Saturday, the 22nd February, 1851.

Foreign.

Bavaria.....	42
Prussia.....	273
Switzerland.....	99
Spain.....	11
Sweden.....	18
Saxony.....	135
Belgium.....	16
United States.....	14
Mexico.....	4
Peru.....	1

Colonial.

Canada.....	304
Nova Scotia.....	23
Guernsey.....	8
Nassau, New Providence.....	2
South Australia.....	15

Total..... 965

PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS.

MR. LOCKE KING'S MOTION.

AYS—100.

Adair, H. E.	Hall, Sir B.	Pinney, W.
Adair, R. A. S.	Hamer, Sir J.	Power, Dr.
Alocock, T.	Harris, R.	Rice, E. R.
Anderson, A.	Hastie, Alex.	Robartes, T. J. A.
Anstey, T. C.	Hastie, Arch.	Saiwey, Colonel
Bass, M. T.	Headlam, T. E.	Scholefield, W.
Blake, M. J.	Hodges, T. L.	Scrope, G. P.
Blewitt, R. J.	Howard, P. H.	Shafte, R. D.
Bright, J.	Humphrey, Ald.	Sidney, Alderman
Brocklehurst, J.	Hutt, W.	Slaney, R. A.
Brotherton, J.	Jackson, W.	Smith, Rt. Hon. R. V.
Brown, W.	Keating, R.	Smith, J. B.
Bunbury, E. H.	Kershaw, J.	Stansfeld, W. R. C.
Calvert, F.	Langston, J. H.	Strickland, Sir G.
Carter, J. B.	Lawless, Hon. C.	Stuart, Lord D.
Chaplin, W. J.	Lennard, T. B.	Sullivan, M.
Clay, J.	Locke, J.	Tancred, H. W.
Clifford, H. M.	Loveden, P.	Tension, E. K.
Cobden, R.	Lushington, C.	Thickness, R. A.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.	Mackie, J.	Thompson, Colonel
Collins, W.	McCullagh, W. T.	Thornely, T.
Crawford, W. S.	McGregor, J.	Tracy, J. S.
D'Eyncourt, R. H. N.	McTaggart, Sir J. C. T.	Villiers, Hon. F.
Dundas, Admiral	Mangies, R. D.	Wakley, T.
Dundas, Right Hon. Sir D.	Moffat, G.	Wawn, J. T. W.
Ellis, J.	Molesworth, Sir W.	Williams, J. T.
Evans, Sir De L.	Moore, G. H.	Williams, W.
Evans, W.	Muntz, G. F.	Wilson, M.
Ewart, W.	O'Connor, F.	Wood, W. P.
Fagan, W.	O'Flaherty, A.	Tellers.
Forster, M.	Oswald, A.	King, Hon. F. J. L.
Fox, W. J.	Peechell, Sir G. B.	Hume, J.
Gibson, Rt. Hon. T. M.	Perfect, R.	
Granger, T. C.	Pilkington, J.	

NOS—52.

Adderley, C. B.	Froston, Colonel	Paget, Lord G.
Arbutnott, Hon. H.	Frewen, C. A.	Parker, J.
Armstrong, Sir A.	Grace, O. D. J.	Power, N.
Baring, Rt. Hon. Sir F. T.	Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir G.	Romilly, Sir J.
Barrow, W. H.	Grey, R. W.	Russell, Lord J.
Bellew, R. M.	Hatchett, Rt. Hon. J.	Seymour, H. D.
Berkeley, Admiral	Heald, J.	Seymour, Lord
Blair, S.	Henley, J. W.	Sir W. M.
Bremridge, R.	Hobhouse, Rt. Hon.	Stanley, E.
Brockman, E. W.	Sir J.	Stanton, W. H.
Buck, L. W.	Hood, Sir A.	Turner, G. J.
Campbell, Hon. W. F.	Hornby, J.	Verner, Sir W.
Cowper, Hon. W. F.	Knight, F. W.	Williamson, Sir H.
Craig, Sir W. G.	Labouchere, Right Hon.	Wood, Rt. Hon. Sir C.
Dundas, J.	Lascelles, Hon. W. S.	
Dundas, Admiral	Lewis, G. C.	Tellers.
Dundas, Right Hon. Sir D.	Mauls, Rt. Hon. F.	Mr. Hayter.
Elliot, Hon. J. E.	Napier, J.	Lord M. Hill.
	Paget, Lord C.	

PAIRS.

For.	Against.
Mr. R. Currie.	Mr. T. Baring.
Mr. B. Wall.	Captain Boldero.
Mr. Pigott.	Mr. Best.
Sir W. Clay.	Sir George Clerk.
Mr. Milner.	Lord Drumlanrig.

Mr. F. H. F. Berkeley was absent from indisposition.

The names of Mr. Alexander Henry and Mr. Ralph Bernal Osborne were accidentally omitted by the tellers for the Ayes. Mr. Oswald is included by mistake in the majority; he was at home ill.

PROTECTION OF YOUNG SERVANTS AND APPRENTICES.—A correspondent of the *Times*, a barrister, gives an excellent summary of the provisions of the bill just introduced by Mr. Baines:—"By the law, as it now stands, any breach of the duty of a master to provide food necessary for the sustenance of a servant or apprentice can only be punished by a civil proceeding, and not by the criminal law, except in the case of a child of tender years. Even in that case the grossest and most wilful neglect or refusal to provide food is only punishable with imprisonment or fine, without any power in the court to sentence to hard labour or to grant the costs of the prosecution. By the new bill the protection of the criminal law is extended to all young persons under eighteen who are under the care and control of others as apprentices or servants. Where the master wilfully, and without lawful excuse, neglects or refuses to provide necessary food, or unlawfully and maliciously assaults so as either to endanger the life or injure the health of the young person by starvation or blows, he may be imprisoned for any period less than three years, and be kept to hard labour. The court may also allow the costs of the prosecution. At present, when a child is hired out from a workhouse, there is no obligation upon the guardians of the poor to inquire into the treatment which he may receive, and they generally lose sight of him altogether. The new bill requires that so long as he resides within the union in the service of the master who so hired him, and is under eighteen, he shall be visited by an officer of the guardians at least four times a year, who shall report to them if there is cause to believe that the young person is subjected to any cruel or illegal treatment. The legal duty of the guardians to institute prosecutions in cases like that of the Birds or the Sloanes is at present very doubtful. The new bill provides that, in every case of an indictable bodily injury inflicted upon any poor person under eighteen, the committing magistrate may certify that he considers it necessary for the purposes of public justice that the guardians should undertake the prosecution, and they should be authorized and required to do so, and to pay the costs out of the poor rates (so far as the court does not order payment out of the county rate). The magistrates may also bind over some officer of the guardians to prosecute."

THE FINE WINTER has seriously depressed the coal, and necessarily the carrying trade; the consumption of fuel by this metropolis alone having, it is calculated, fallen during the last two months quite 10,000 tons a week beneath the ordinary consumption of this season of the year. This decreased consumption, of course, by diminishing the demand for shipping and freights, has lessened the employment, and lowered the wages of seamen.

THE MINISTERIAL CRISIS.

The extraordinary occurrences of the last few days deserve a more distinct narration than could be easily made out from our record of Parliamentary proceedings and the detached announcements of "Court, Official, and Personal News." It was on Saturday morning that the *Times* astonished the public with the announcement, at the head of its first leading article, "Lord John Russell has tendered his resignation to her Majesty, and only holds office till another Government can be formed." The other morning journals could only venture to describe the Ministry, on the evidence of what had transpired in the House the previous evening, as in that peculiar condition known to politicians as a "crisis"—as doubtful whether to surrender, to refit, or to put-about. There had then been no summonses to the palace, no exchange of letters between royal and noble personages. But it was observed, that from the Cabinet Council on Friday afternoon, Lords Lansdowne, Minto, and Carlisle, were absent; and it was concluded that without their concurrence, the Premier would scarcely have done more, in the interview which he had with the Queen on leaving the Council, than intimate to her Majesty the probability of her Ministers' resignation.

The Marquis of Lansdowne arrived in town from Bowood on Saturday morning, and had an interview with her Majesty at twelve o'clock. Lord John Russell arrived at the Palace shortly after the Marquis of Lansdowne, and joined him in the conference with her Majesty. At half-past two o'clock, almost immediately after the departure of the noble lords, her Majesty wrote a letter to Lord Stanley, commanding his immediate attendance. Lord Stanley arrived at three o'clock, and remained in conference with her Majesty for more than an hour. After Lord Stanley had left the Palace, her Majesty wrote a second letter to the noble lord, who had not returned home when the royal missive reached St. James's-square. Lord John Russell during the afternoon had interviews with Viscount Palmerston and other members of the Cabinet. At five, a letter was addressed to the Earl of Aberdeen by Prince Albert, requesting his lordship's immediate attendance at the Palace. Lord Aberdeen was not at home, having left town for Blackheath. He returned at six, and immediately replied to the note of the Prince Consort. At half-past five o'clock a "private and immediate" communication was forwarded to all the members of the retiring Ministry by Lord John Russell, and at six his lordship proceeded to Buckingham Palace to have a second interview with her Majesty, with whom his lordship remained in conference nearly two hours. Immediately after the departure of Lord John Russell, a despatch arrived at Buckingham Palace from Lord Stanley, in reply to her Majesty's second communication to that noble lord. At half-past nine the Earl of Aberdeen arrived at the Palace, and had an interview with her Majesty and the Prince Consort, which was prolonged until nearly midnight. In the course of the afternoon, Lord Stanley despatched a courier to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, who was supposed to be in Paris. A despatch from Lord John Russell had been forwarded to Lord Clarendon the previous night.

Sunday brought no rest to the statesmen of either party. In the morning, Lord John Russell and the Earl of Carlisle visited the Marquis of Lansdowne; while Sir James Graham—his first appearance on the stage—was having an interview with Lord Aberdeen, probably at the invitation of the latter; and the two proceeded to confer with Lord John Russell; and Lord Aberdeen, at a later period of the day, to visit Lord Stanley. At five o'clock, Lord Aberdeen received a note from Prince Albert requesting his presence at the Palace at nine o'clock, at which hour he arrived, and had an interview with her Majesty and the Prince.

At an early hour on Monday morning, Lord John Russell received Viscount Palmerston and others of his late colleagues, at his private residence in Chesham-place. Lord John then proceeded to Buckingham Palace and had another interview with her Majesty. The Chancellor of the Exchequer—as though certain of his fate—had commenced by that time to remove from his official residence in Downing-street; various articles of private furniture were removed in the course of the afternoon. Lord Stanley was visited in the course of the morning by Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Forbes Mackenzie, and other expectant members of the new Cabinet; and also received a letter from Mr. Gladstone, promising his appearance in London this (Wednesday) morning. The Chancellor of the Exchequer visited his noble brother-in-law, Earl Grey, at his private mansion, and was joined there by Sir George Grey, and the three ex-Ministers had a long consultation. Sir James Graham visited the Earl of Aberdeen at noon, and remained in consultation with him for more than two hours. At five o'clock, her Majesty addressed a letter to the Earl of Aberdeen, commanding his lordship's presence at the Palace at nine o'clock. This was the first letter written by her Majesty to the noble Earl since the resignation of Lord John Russell, the former communications to his lordship having been written by Prince Albert. At nine o'clock the Earl accordingly proceeded to the Palace; Lord John Russell and Sir James Graham arrived there about the same time, and joined the noble Earl at the conference with the Sovereign.

Thus three days passed. Of the fourth, we only

know, at the time we write, that Lord Stanley has again been summoned to Buckingham Palace; Lord John Russell having failed—according to the ex-Ministerial organ, the *Globe*—in the reconstruction of his Cabinet.

Now for the proximate causes of these events. The fidelity of the Radicals to Mr. Locke King was the result, according to the *Manchester Examiner*, of a distinct and subscribed agreement. "On Tuesday last, a meeting of Liberal members, of what may be called the Independent party, was convened by Mr. Hume, to consider the present aspect of affairs. About thirty members attended, and a long discussion took place, particularly with reference to the position and conduct of the Government on the question of Parliamentary Reform. The meeting was adjourned to Thursday, when about fifty members were present. It was generally felt that the course taken by the Government on this vital question was evasive and unsatisfactory, and finally it was agreed to draw up a declaratory resolution, to be signed by those present, and by other members, expressive of the opinion of those who concurred in it, that the time was come when some distinct advance should be made with a view to an extension of the franchise, and an improvement of the representation of the people. This declaration, we understand, had received a large number of signatures when the House met on Thursday evening." A meeting of "the country party" was held on Friday morning at Lord Stanley's, and an amendment on the Budget was committed to Mr. Herries, to be proposed that evening; but the tone of the meeting is said to have been mild, and by no means expectant of a ministerial overthrow. The *Morning Chronicle* has affirmed from the commencement, that the anti-Papal measure is the cause of disunion in the Cabinet, and of the estrangement from Lord John of his usual Peelite supporters. Earl Grey is understood to refuse to sacrifice Sir Charles Wood, and to agree with Lord Clarendon in strongly depreciating the bill. The cause of Lord Stanley's hesitancy was first alleged to be the disinclination of her Majesty to dissolve Parliament; a more probable reason is, the absence of Mr. Gladstone, and the dislike of the Marquis of Granby to put in abeyance even the name of Protection. Mr. Disraeli is set down as uncourteous to Lord John Russell, and even disrespectful to the Queen, in contradicting the noble lord's version of Lord Stanley's declining to take office at once; but Mr. Disraeli is asserted by others to have known well what he was about, and to have acted with his usual astuteness.

As the matter now stands, then, Lord John Russell has failed to induce Sir James Graham to take office with him; and the cause of that refusal is understood to be the Papal measure. Mr. Sidney Herbert must be one of the two or three accompanying Sir James, and the Puseyism of that right honourable is too notorious to leave room for his coalition with the author of a "Letter to the Bishop of Durham."

JONAS WOOD.

(From the *Daily News*.)

The ship was fast sinking, the leaks were so many,
When out spoke Lord Johnny, the boldest of any,
And sung out aloud to his terrified crew,
"Now, who's to go overboard? Charley, will you?"
"Excuse me," quoth Charley, "I don't think I should,
For my budget would sink me, though I be light wood."
Goldrum Club.

MENDELSSOHN'S MASTERPIECE, "ELIJAH," was performed at Mr. John Hullah's third monthly concert, at St. Martin's Hall, on Wednesday evening last, and it is scarcely necessary to say that this sublime oratorio, which now, by general agreement, ranks side by side with the "Messiah," attracted a crowded audience. The performance was adapted to satisfy the most fastidious taste. A well-trained chorus, accomplished solo singers, an efficient, but not too numerous, orchestra, and a conductor who united ease and firmness in the execution of his task, all aided to impart a finish and satisfaction to the performance rarely to be found. With the exception of an occasional noisiness in the brass instrument there was nothing to offend the ear. The steadiness and precision of the choruses was the theme of general approbation. They seemed fully to enter into the spirit of the great composer, and impart the fullest expression to the sentiment intended to be brought out. In this respect they may vie with any Exeter-hall chorus, and being less numerous and more thoroughly trained, are, in our view, more manageable, and better able to bring out the points of the oratorio. Especially noticeable among the vocalists were Miss Williams, Mr. Weiss, Mr. Lockey, and Mrs. Endersohn—the latter a *debutante* and pupil of Sir George Smart's. Mrs. Endersohn's appearance was highly successful, and she promises to be a great acquisition. She has a rich and extensive soprano voice; sings well in tune and time, and has a clear and polished execution. Mr. Hullah deserves great credit for the advanced position to which he has brought his choral troop, as well as for the uniform and high excellence of his public performances. He has shown what can be done with not the best materials, by careful and systematic training. The next Monthly Concert will be of a more miscellaneous character, comprising, amongst other things, the "Credo," from Bach's mass in B minor, never before performed in this country.

A UNION WORKHOUSE.—A crowd of sots, crones, and drabs, blighted maidens, and bloomless children, dwell there in "wards" and "dormitories," existing by "dietary," fed without a host, wearied without work, herding without love, and dying without a mourner.—*Times*.

ACCIDENT TO MRS. DISRAELI'S CARRIAGE.—John Stanley, omnibus driver, was summoned before Mr. Brougham yesterday, for having, by careless and wilful misbehaviour, done damage to the carriage of Mrs. Disraeli. The driver and footman were knocked off their seat, the brougham upset, and the lady was obliged to be taken out of the window. The witnesses were contradictory, and the decision was adjourned.

POSTSCRIPT.

Wednesday, February 26, Two o'clock.

THE NEW MINISTRY.

This morning's papers confirm the conclusion indicated in another column. Within a few hours, "says the *Times*," of the delivery of Lord John Russell's statement to the House of Commons, on Monday afternoon another and a final interview took place between his Lordship, Lord Aberdeen, and Sir James Graham. The result of this last deliberation was the abandonment of the well-meant attempt to reconstruct an Administration under Lord John Russell, with the addition of some of the principal members of the Peel Cabinet. Upon the announcement to Her Majesty of the failure of this combination the Queen was pleased to desire Lord Aberdeen to undertake the formation of a Cabinet; but this task was respectfully declined by that Statesman, on the ground of the want of Parliamentary strength to carry on such a Government. A second summons was then addressed, by her Majesty's command, to Lord Stanley, "who appears to have accepted the commission to form a Government without further hesitation. He remained in conference with her Majesty from eleven to twelve o'clock, and then proceeded to call upon Mr. Disraeli, and subsequently on Viscount Canning. The Viscount had another interview with his lordship in the afternoon. Lord Stanley also received a royal letter in the evening, to which he at once replied. The Earl of Aberdeen had visited his lordship, and subsequently the Earl was called upon by Sir James Graham.

Lists are freely given of the parties to the new Ministry, and the posts assigned to them; but of course their authenticity is supposititious. One is probably of as much value as another; we therefore give that supplied by the *Daily News*:

First Lord of the Treasury ..	Lord Stanley.
Chancellor of the Exchequer ..	Mr. Herries.
Lord Chancellor	Lord Truro, or Sir E. Sugden.
Foreign Secretary	Mr. Disraeli.
Home Secretary	Mr. Henley.
Colonial Secretary	(Mr. Gladstone refuses.)
President of the Board of Trade ..	Mr. Newdegate.
India Board	Duke of Richmond.

Mr. Gladstone has not arrived in London, so that his refusal of the Colonial Office is probably conjectured from his known opinions.

That Lord John's personal policy was the cause of his failure to reconstruct a Cabinet, the *Times* now distinctly affirms:

Lord John Russell was, in a peculiar and personal manner, responsible for all that had occurred in the last few weeks. His Durham letter gave intensity and political importance to the anti-Papal agitation, and bred dissension between the Ministry and its Roman Catholic supporters. He framed the Royal Speech in which the phrase occurred that called forth Mr. Disraeli's all but unsuccessful resolution on the state of the agricultural interest. He was first Lord of the Treasury that produced Sir Charles Wood's budget; and, as the leader of the House of Commons and of the Liberal party, it was his duty to ascertain whether an extension of the suffrage was one of the measures required by his Government. On all these questions the rest of the Cabinet came in for comparatively a small share of responsibility; and had the Whig Government been conducted by any other chief, it is extremely possible that none of these embarrassments would have risen to importance, or that they would have been more prudently dealt with.

The *Daily News* adds:

No one can doubt that the true champion, the general who routed the Whigs, and flung Lord John Russell from his seat, was no other than Cardinal Wiseman. . . . A Stanley Ministry, and of course a dissolution—the country fairly asked, will it have Protection or Free-trade? will it have a £50 or £10 suffrage? will it have a House of Commons to register and to do the will of the House of Lords, or a Parliament in which popular ideas are expressed, and commercial interests fairly represented?

The *Morning Herald* declines to publish any list of a Ministry which it will aspire to represent; but assures the "National party" that the most sensitive need not fear for the safety of the cause in the hands of Lord Stanley. It asserts, on the authority of parties well-informed, that "the chiefs of the conspiracy parted upon not the very best of terms—that two of them, in particular, exchanged mutual recriminations—and that each applied to the conduct of the other epithets of rather a strong character."

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE MARRIAGE AFFINITY BILL.

In the House of Lords last night, the Earl of St. Germans moved the second reading of the Marriage Affinity Bill. He described it as a measure which had last session obtained the sanction of the other branch of the Legislature, failing only on account of the late period at which it had come up to their lordships' House. He adduced a multiplicity of testimony and a variety of arguments to the effect that marriage within the degree of affinity mentioned by this measure was neither contrary to the Levitical nor the canon-law; that in a social point of view, the prohibition was more dangerous than the permission; that on the moral question, the advantages lay on the side of relaxation; and that as a matter of right, it would be the greatest legislative tyranny to enforce the restrictive law. The Archbishop of Canterbury opposed the bill upon the interpretation of a verse in the 18th chapter of Leviticus; and he moved as an amendment that the bill be read a second time that day six months. The Bishop of Exeter also opposed the bill, and characterised as incestuous the marriage it was designed to legalize. He justified the assent he had given to Lord Lyndhurst's act of 1835, not because it substantiated all past, but because it prohibited all future, unions within the objectionable degrees. The Bishop of St. David's doubted whether the scriptural prohibition to the marriages in question was anything but inferential; yet considered that as a matter of expediency and state policy it was better to forbid such unions. The Bishop of Norwich, without asserting that the proposed bill would infringe the scriptural canon, opposed it on the ground of its tendency to encourage immorality. The question was one which might be left to the decision of the women of England, 99 in every 100 of whom he believed to be decidedly opposed to any removal of the existing restrictions. Viscount Gage thought the opposition to the bill was inspired by a morbid sensibility. The present prohibitions were sources of great hardship and misery to individuals. Lord Campbell apprehended that the bill was prompted by factitious agitation got up by parties who had themselves violated the law, and worked by the usual and professional machinery. He contended that marriages coming within the scope of the bill had been prohibited almost invariably in Christian countries, and were repeatedly declared illegal and incestuous by the English law. If such unions were not prohibited by the present statutes, he considered that a new enactment ought to be passed for that special purpose. Objecting, in much detail, to the principle of the bill, the noble and learned lord hoped it would be rejected by a decisive majority. The Bishop of London wished to correct the impression which had become public, that he had changed his opinion with regard to the bill. He still disapproved of its intended relaxations, and repeated some of the scriptural and moral arguments that had been quoted against it. The agitation in its favour was confined to the manufacturing districts. Lord Brougham opposed the bill, as did the Bishop of Ossory; and, after a brief reply from the Earl of St. Germans, their lordships divided on the question that the bill be read a second time:

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The bill was consequently lost.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

FRANCE.—The celebration of the third anniversary of the Revolution passed off without the least disorder. A procession of above six thousand persons marched to the column of the Bastille. The two prefects, and a number of Republican representatives, attended the grand mass in Notre Dame, in official costume. The weather was very fine.

The *Assemblée Nationale* publishes the petition which was to have been brought to the Assembly by a Bonapartist mob on the 22nd. It is couched in respectful terms enough, and begs the Chamber to reconsider its vote on the dotation. — The Legitimists have set on foot a subscription for propagating as widely as possible the Duke of Bordeau's manifesto.

GERMANY.—The latest accounts from Dresden are contradictory in the highest degree.

WEST INDIES.—The royal mail-packet, "Medway," arrived yesterday at Southampton. Her papers only enlarge upon the statements given elsewhere. Much excitement has been created in Kingston (Jamaica), by the trial of Robert John Macpherson, a justice of the peace, and member of Assembly, for the alleged forgery of certain island notes. The case was tried before the Chief Justice, and occupied two full days. The jury were discharged, two of their number refusing to give a verdict of guilty; which has caused great dissatisfaction. — British Guiana sends a most important and most numerously-signed document, being petitions for constitutional reform, agreed to at a great public meeting, and which had received over 6,300 signatures.

THE PARISHES OF ST. PANCRAS, George the Martyr (Bloomsbury), and St. Andrew (Holborn), had meetings yesterday, and passed stringent resolutions against the window or house-tax.

CORN EXCHANGE, MARK-LANE, Wednesday, Feb. 26, 1851.

The quantity of Grain and Flour fresh in this week is small; the trade to-day steady at Monday's prices.

Arrivals this week:—Wheat—English, 1,810 qrs.; Foreign, 210 qrs. Barley—English, 2,410 qrs.; Foreign, 680 qrs. Oats—English, 1,930 qrs.; Irish, 2,510 qrs.; Foreign, 3,830 qrs. Flour—English, 2,970; Foreign, 4,070 sacks and barrels.

From its extensive circulation—far exceeding most of the journals of a similar character published in London—the *Nonconformist* presents a very desirable medium for advertisements, especially those relating to Schools, Books, Articles of General Consumption, Situations, and Appeals for Philanthropic and Religious Objects. The terms are low:—

For Eight Lines and under 5s. 0d.
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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We are requested to acknowledge the following donations to the Publication Fund of the Anti-state-church Association:—

E. Ashworth Briggs, Esq., Daventry £2 2 0

W. Thompson, Esq., Frome 5 0 0

Received from Mr. J. Billing, of Woking, Surrey, 10s. for the sufferers from cholera in Jamaica.

The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, FEB. 26, 1851.

SUMMARY.

THE long-anticipated crisis has come at last—the Whigs are out of office. Like most things which people have looked forward to as an approaching certainty, the mode and the moment of it took them by surprise. The narrow majority by which Ministers foiled Mr. Disraeli's motion in favour of the agriculturists, was the first serious warning to the Cabinet that danger stood in its path. The universal contempt with which Sir Charles Wood's financial statement was received, showed that against that danger, the Government had made no effectual provision in the shape of popular measures. Still, nobody dreamt on Thursday noon that the Cabinet was within a few hours of dissolution. On Thursday evening, in a thin house, Mr. Locke King brought forward his motion for extending the ten-pound household franchise to counties. Lord John, true to his destiny, commended the moderation of the proposal, and of the speech which prefaced it, but refused to accede to it on grounds more plausible than solid. He seems to have instinctively apprehended his ministerial doom, for in the course of his speech he distinctly admitted the necessity for some amendment of the Reform Bill, and promised to bring forward a measure on the subject next session, if *then in office*. A smart, but by no means violent discussion ensued. Then came the division, in which the Protectionists left Lord John to ascertain his real position. None of them voted, and the consequence was that the Premier was beaten almost two to one by his own supporters. This was a depth of mortification to which the noble lord had little expected to be thrown. His mind was made up. He must resign.

A Cabinet Council was hastily summoned next morning. Lord John told his disaster—stated his resolution—received the votes of his colleagues then present—and set off to her Majesty, to intimate to his royal mistress that she might expect next day to receive the resignation of the entire Government. The Marquis of Lansdowne's absence from town prevented the immediate discharge of that constitutional formality. Meanwhile, the noble lord requested the House of Commons to defer its consideration of the budget till Monday, when he would state his reasons for having asked the delay, and, if possible, his plans for the future. On Saturday, however, it became known to the public that the Whig administration was at an end. Lord Stanley was sent for, and he and Disraeli were in conference. For some reason or other not yet disclosed, Lord Stanley did not then undertake the onerous responsibility of constructing a Protectionist cabinet—and the Queen again sent for Lord John Russell. On Monday evening, his lordship stated to Parliament his position, and asked an adjournment until Friday. He had been in communication with Sir James Graham, and it was generally supposed that a government stronger in its personnel than the last, composed of Whigs and Peelites, and based on somewhat more liberal principles, might be constructed, and the necessity for a dissolution of Parliament avoided. It is now tolerably certain that the attempt has failed. Sir James Graham, it is said, would be no party to an anti-Papal measure. Lord John Russell would not consent to abandon it. Lord Stanley, therefore, was once more summoned to the Palace, and is trying his hand in the formation of a Protectionist government. If he carries through his attempt, a dissolution appears to be inevitable—but inasmuch as even Lord Stanley would abandon in office all notion of re-imposing an import duty on

corn, it is difficult to imagine the sort of story with which his supporters would, in that case, have to meet the tenant farmers.

Of course, the Ministerial crisis has put a temporary stop to Parliamentary business. Mr. Slaney asked for, and obtained, a committee, on Wednesday last, to inquire into the operation of the present law of partnership. His object is to benefit the working classes. None can call in question the honourable member's sincerity or earnestness—and, assuredly, if his zeal always took as legitimate a path to his object as in his proposals of Wednesday last, we should give him our feeble but very hearty support. He wishes to remove some of the legal obstacles to safe co-operation, by setting some definite limits to the liabilities of partners. He seems, indeed, to be fully cognisant of the dangers incident to the changes he contemplates, but he does not regard them as insuperable. Mr. Labouchere, on the part of the Government, readily acceded to his request; and we sincerely trust that the committee will be able to throw some light on this very intricate but very important question, and to suggest some improvements on the law as it now stands. There is no other Parliamentary topic claiming remark, but such as we have already touched upon in our outline of the Ministerial crisis.

It was our full intention to have commented this week on the formation of the Scottish Anti-state-church Association, and we should have coupled with the article some observations on the announcement made to the Provost of Edinburgh by Sir George Grey, that the Whigs do not, after all, intend to propose any measure relative to the Annuity-tax. Just at the present moment, however, it would seem ill-timed to dilate on such topics. People will not listen to them during the heat of the passing excitement—all we can now do is (regretting, as we must, the necessity of setting up a separate organization for Scotland, and earnestly hoping that there will be new life as well as mechanism as the result of the late conference, and that its influence will reach electoral movements) to wish the Association just called into being, a short life and a busy one—short, because successful—busy, in order to success.

The anti-Papal agitation and its abortive result, the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, are producing their natural effects in the shape of religious animosity. In many parts of England the Catholic laity are meeting to denounce the "insult" offered to their religion by Lord John's measure, while in Ireland an agitation which threatens to be more unanimous and formidable than any movement since 1829 is springing up. There unanimity between the Catholic clergy and laity is unbroken. The members of the Irish bar who profess the dominant religion, to a man protest against the proposed enactment—the mild Dr. Murray, equally with the fierce Dr. M'Hale, regards the measure as an attack on his religion, and urges instant and vigorous steps for its defeat. On Sunday, the obnoxious bill was to be denounced from every altar throughout the country, and in another week or fortnight the whole country will be agitated from end to end with the indignation of an excited people. Once again Ireland threatens to become "the great difficulty" of British statesmen, and all without any adequate cause.

Two more county elections have further reinforced the Protectionist ranks—North Stafford and Bedford. In the former case there was no semblance of opposition. Mr. Childs, the landlord's nominee, was returned without a contest. In Bedfordshire, Mr. Houghton came forward in the tenant-farmer interest against Col. Gilpin, the Protectionist, or rather landlord candidate. Notwithstanding the neutrality of the Whigs, who might have returned the free-trader had they chosen, and without any of the ordinary electioneering agencies being put in motion on his behalf; Mr. Houghton polled 558 votes. He seems to have been decidedly the popular candidate not only with the town population, but with many employed in agriculture. "For the first time in Bedfordshire," we are told, "farm-servants became interested in a county election." The peasantry, as Sir James Graham well said, "know the reason why" their bread is cheap and abundant. Truly such events as the South Notts and Bedfordshire elections are more significant of coming changes than the shifting of the helm of state from the hands of a Russell to those of a Stanley or a Graham—more especially, when we recollect that beneath all this surface agitation, the Freehold Land Movement is making steady progress, and gradually, but surely, creating a new and independent class of voters in our county representatives.

Under its appropriate heading, our readers will find a paragraph of intelligence on the press and the law of libel. The facts there reported tell their own tale. Three journalists have lately suffered from verdicts of virtual acquittal in actions for slander. A provincial paper had represented the conduct of a certain railway manager in a light which the jury pronounced only partially justifiable—that the facts alleged were true, but did not warrant the imputations based upon them. The Court of Queen's

Bench has ruled that this is a verdict for the plaintiff; and the whole of the heavy costs fall upon the unfortunate defendant. Two London morning papers were concerned in the other cases. In one, the *Times* was sued for words in a police-report which reflected upon a character valued by the jury at one farthing! yet, as the plaintiff sued in *forma pauperis*, the defendant pays the attorney's bill. The *Daily News* was cast in the same sum for a similar offence, but fortunately was dealing with a solvent plaintiff, and so escapes with only the cost of a few hundreds for its defence. The summing up of Lord Campbell in this case is that of an enlightened and just judge, and in the spirit of the Amended Law of Libel which bears his name; but shows the still defective state of that law.

The unusual interest attaching to home politics throws foreign intelligence rather into the shade. We have yet to see how Ministerial changes here will affect the cause of freedom on the continent. Not much, either for good or evil, we imagine. Reaction has advanced too far to be much influenced by such an event. A government which, like that of Austria, seems to be madly dancing upon a rumbling volcano beneath it—or, like that of Russia, which conceives that it has a destiny to fulfil in putting down the revolution—is not likely to alter its plans at the instance of an Aberdeen, any more than by the advice of a Palmerston. The important features of the week's intelligence are soon summed up. In France we see that indiscreet nobleman, the Duke of Bordeaux, putting forth another gilded bait to attract silly Frenchmen to his standard. The President working less noisily, but more effectually, to secure his personal ends; and the great question of free-trade being discussed with zeal and interest—the latter a hopeful sign, which will not, we trust, be without important and beneficial results. Again has Germany been agitated with rumours of a serious rupture between Austria and Prussia, and again has the struggle between the two rival powers terminated in the submission of the latter. Austria seems to be gaining its ends with a fatal facility, which cannot but be pleasing to its great ally and prompter, the Emperor of Russia. It is like a pyramid on its apex, whose base may be supposed to be ever enlarging, and whose fall will, in the end, be all the more signal. Happily, for the present, it has not yet been able to carry out its threats against Sardinia—and perhaps it will wisely forbear so rash an attempt. In this season of crumbling constitutions, it is quite gratifying to turn to this thriving Italian state, and witness the perfect accord of sovereign, minister, and people. Should it so happen, that Lord John Russell and the Whigs vacate the Treasury bench, we could give them no better advice than to study for a while in the school of the Marquis d'Azélio, Prime Minister of that country, whose speech in the Chamber of Deputies we have noticed elsewhere. Most applicable are his sound remarks about political honesty to public affairs amongst ourselves. An exchange of Prime Ministers might possibly be beneficial to both countries. At all events, it would be well for this country if we had more statesmen who conscientiously acted up to the principles so forcibly enunciated by the Italian Minister.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MINISTRY.

"DIED of inanition," is the verdict which the country will return on the dissolution of the "Family Cabinet"—a not very dignified exit from official life, it must be confessed, but a singularly appropriate one. Protectionism did not strangle it—Radicalism did not worry it to death—but it was very proud and very poor; and so, in course of time, its feebleness increased upon it, until a blow from a feather might knock it down; and on Friday morning last it went out like a spent spark.

In mechanics the law holds good, that "nothing is stronger than its weakest part." The weakest part of the "Family Cabinet" having been thin *Wood*, none can be surprised that it broke down. If its several parts had not been so tenaciously coherent, it must have gone to pieces long since, for, with the exception of Free-trade, now a settled question, it would be difficult to find the political principle which hoisted them together. The last "budget" would have greatly damaged, and even gone far to ruin, a strong Administration. One existing on sufferance, therefore, was not likely to sustain the weight of it—and so, when Mr. Locke King smote it with his natty little reform cane, he saw it sink with marvellous alacrity; and, lo! it is no more. What special portions of it will float again, and become part of the next Government, it is not very safe to predict. But the following announcement, contained in yesterday's record of "Ministerial movements," will be read with pretty general satisfaction:—"The Chancellor of the Exchequer has commenced to remove from his official residence in Downing-street. Various articles of private furniture were removed in the course of yesterday afternoon." This speaks volumes. Sir Charles Wood sees no

chance for himself in any possible combination of parties.

Still we think it would be doing Sir Charles Wood a gross injustice to charge upon him solely, or even chiefly, the upset of the "Family Cabinet." True, his weight was thrown on the wrong side at a critical moment of its career, and hence the overturn—but it must not be forgotten that Lord John himself had brought the Government into perilous places. Had he been on the high road, his incapable colleague would only have spilt himself—but driving, as he did, by all manner of circuitous and uneven bye-ways, he has himself to thank for the catastrophe. Will he read the moral of his misfortune? We wish he may—but it would be simply false in us to pretend that we hope he will.

The Russell Administration, now extinct, owed its being to the temporary disorganization of political parties, consequent upon the repeal of the corn-laws. It was a representation of nothing positive beyond the commercial policy which Sir Robert Peel had recently adopted. It centred in itself no preponderant amount of national, or even Parliamentary, confidence; and was acquiesced in merely as the sole feasible make-shift of the day. Its being, therefore, was dependent, not upon its inherent vitality, but upon external combinations and party forbearance. Its personnel was not popular. Its basis was narrow. Its spirit was aristocratic. It possessed no extraordinary intellectual resources. It had no backbone. Lord John Russell's error was, that he never comprehended his position—never glanced at it with a statesman's eye, noted its weakness, nor took measures to increase its strength. He treated the mutually neutralized condition of Parliamentary parties as if it were normal instead of exceptional, and resolved to be governed by future chances, instead of aiming to govern them. The apparently inextricable confusion of men and things which allowed of his taking power without the support of a sympathizing majority might have been designedly, if not wisely, tolerated during a session or two, to admit of the new commercial system taking root, and developing itself. But it was for a man in Lord John's situation to have enunciated principles, which would have speedily educated order out of the chaos, and by their vital force gathered about them a strong moral support. We need hardly observe that he did nothing of the kind. He had no plan. He excited no hopes. He was kept in power by perpetual sacrifices of opinion made on his behalf by others—and those sacrifices he repaid, not with gratitude, but with supercilious insolence. It was only to be anticipated, therefore, that he would at length wear out the patience which he perpetually tried, and be left at last to feel his own feet. No doubt he is mortified, perhaps he is startled by the result. At all events, it would appear that he despairs of further success—for if rumour speaks correctly, he is less able to construct an administration than is his rival Lord Stanley.

Taking it for granted, at least for the present, that it is next to impossible for Lord Stanley to form a Protectionist Ministry which will be able to face the present Parliament for a single week, or which will dare appeal to the country by dissolving it, is it not obvious that a strong government must be produced by precisely those means which Lord John Russell has so foolishly neglected? Parties being at sixes and sevens in the House of Commons, no success can be anticipated there but that which would arise out of popular sympathies. Lay down a *programme* in tolerable keeping with public opinion in regard to organic, ecclesiastical, administrative, and financial change—select for the purpose of carrying it into effect men whose past history is a pledge for their future zeal—submit your intended policy to the present House as clearly, as promptly, as decidedly as possible—show that you have an object to drive at in which the people are interested, and that you mean to drive at it in good earnest—and then, if necessary, dissolve Parliament, and ask the country to make its will known—and we will guarantee for you a stronger government than has existed of late years. But people must have something to confide in before their confidence will be given.

So palpable is all this, that even the *Times* of yesterday recognises it as the sole solution of the crisis—and recommends that strength be sought at the circumference rather than at the centre. None reads the signs of the age better than that journal. We take it, therefore, that the hour we have long sighed for is at length at hand—that the reign of mere compromise is over—that it will be succeeded by that of something both popular and positive—and that government will once more proceed on intelligible principles. We are right glad of this. The public is heartily sick of political stagnation, and ministerial incapacity. For the good that the Whigs have done, we thank them—for the splendid opportunities they have missed we pity them—for the needless evils they have inflicted on us we forgive them—but for resigning office, and thus inducing a healthful political stir, absolutely necessary just now to save principles from expiring, we give them our most

cordial acclamations—we shout after them an honest "Good bye!" and we add, *sotto voce*, "Glad to get rid of you."

THE STAGE RIVALS.

CERVANTES, in his imitable "Don Quixote," relates an amusing story, which finds a counterpart in recent political experience. The alcade of a small town in Spain, we are told, happened to lose his ass in the mountains, and finding that it was of no avail to sit down and bewail his loss, prevailed upon a brother official to go in search of the missing beast. After many hours' search, their labours were unsuccessful. Next day they hit upon a sapient scheme for facilitating their object. It was arranged that they should take different paths, and keep up a constant braying in order that the poor animal might have warning of their vicinity. So well did each perform his allotted task, that he spent a good part of the day in seeking out and meeting his friend, supposing his bray to be the genuine utterance of the missing ass. At length, when both were exhausted, the remains of the poor animal were found in a remote corner of a wood. It had died of hunger while the two alcades were expending their breath and strength in their unmelodious wooing.

These two Spanish officials are no unapt illustration of the two sections of the aristocracy which alternately rule this country. Both are skilled in the faculty of imitation, and both profess to have the good of the country at heart. Poor John Bull is alternately perplexed, deceived, and neglected. Instead of seeking him out, and doing him good, or saving him from peril, it somehow always happens that they only play into each other's hands. They are always braying, and so skilfully as often to deceive each other, and yet, strangely enough, nothing ever comes of it—*vox et praeterea nihil*. They are officially anxious to benefit their country in words—meanwhile, the country never feels any practical benefit from their noisy professions. The nation stands in need of good government, and a reform of its institutions in accordance with the spirit of the age. Whigs and Tories bray out their good intentions, loudly profess their sympathy, and do nothing. Sometimes one, sometimes the other party, makes the louder noise. Both are now in full chorus, and it is remarkable that although their voices rarely accord, they will never permit a third to join in the uproar. The thin shrill voice of Lord John Russell and the bass notes of Lord Stanley are now heard bidding for popular support. Both are anxious for a good cry which will seat them safely in power; or, to return to our illustration, both are striving to attract the notice of the poor bewildered animal by the loudness of their braying. Before the public they are rarely in unison. They are ever baulking and deceiving each other—ever filling the air with their noisy and hostile notes. But in the background there is a better understanding, and woe be to him who trespasses on their prescriptive right. They alone can benefit the people whose favour they wish to secure. When no one else interferes they are rivals; but let an intruder show his face, and they are sworn friends. Rather let the poor creature pine away than any one else interfere to save it.

Lest our remarks should appear to savour of illiberalism or indiscriminate censure, we give the most recent instance of their truth. Last week there was an election for the county of Bedfordshire, in which, we need scarcely inform our readers, the influence of the Russell family is predominant. The sitting member for that county is the Duke's nominee, and, of course, a Whig and Free-trader. After all that has recently been said by the Premier and his subordinates, re-echoed by the press, on the danger of returning to Protection, one would of course suppose that, on such an occasion as an election for a county in which liberalism is supposed to be in the ascendant, the battle of Free-trade would have been fought in the polling-booth. After so close a division as that on Mr. Disraeli's motion, how important is a single vote in the settlement of this vital question. Nevertheless, even at such a crisis, the defiant bray of the two hostile parties on the political stage is followed by a good understanding behind the scenes. Colonel Gilpin is put forward as a Conservative and Protectionist candidate, and the Whigs, for "family reasons," do nothing. What is free-trade in comparison with the private interests of the Bedford family? Mr. Houghton came forward as a free-trade candidate to give the liberal electors an opportunity of recording their votes in favour of that principle, and, in spite of the neutrality of the Whigs and the exercise of landlord influence against him succeeded in polling a goodly number of votes. Had the Whig electors supported him, another member opposed to monopoly might have been returned to the House of Commons. But that result would have endangered the success of a Bedford nominee at a future election; consequently, a vital principle like that of Free-trade is sacrificed to promote the private ends of a great Whig family—that family supplying the chief

Minister of the State. Can it be surprising that the country positively rejoices at the downfall of the Whigs, when family reasons, rather than the public welfare, seem to govern to so great an extent their policy? One such fact as this is of more weight than all their expressions of devotion to the "Liberal cause."

Let this fact be used in our endeavours to interpret the recent promise of Lord John Russell, made when his Cabinet was falling to pieces, that he would propose an extension of the suffrage next session. There is far more reality about it than is to be found in his amusing disquisition on the importance of a free and independent county constituency—the voters by tenure and the forty-shilling freeholders—to which he treated the House of Commons on Thursday night, while he was endeavouring to persuade it to reject a sensible and moderate proposal to give effect to that principle. "Much cry and little wool," is descriptive of Whig statesmanship now, as it always has been; and its practical results are about as beneficial as the perpetual braying of the worthy alcade, in "Don Quixote." In Bedfordshire it has sanctioned the return of a Protectionist—in Downing-street it has handed over power to men of reaction.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS.

THE decennial census has so many aspects of interest and importance, that we might almost venture, without fear of wearying our readers, to recur to it in each of the three or four numbers of this journal that will appear before the day on which that enumeration of the people will be made. We cannot take up one of the pile of blank forms, or papers of instructions, that lies before us, without catching a glimpse of the subject from some new point of view, and feeling tempted at once to give the reins to reflection or reverie. There is one branch of it, however, to which we feel it right to call present attention.

The Government is desirous of obtaining accurate returns of the means of public worship and instruction; and has prepared papers for that purpose. From the clergy of the Church of England it has of course a right to expect ready acquiescence. On Dissenting organizations it has not the same claim; to them it can only appeal as sections of the community, interested in the general welfare. It has solicited and received the promise of co-operation in its purpose from the Committee of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, the London Board of Congregational Ministers, and the Committee of the Baptist Union of England and Wales. To those sanctions and promises we willingly add the expression of our own concurrence, whatever that may be worth. We are quite conscious that herein is a slight apparent deviation from the rigour of that principle which excludes Government from interference, authoritative or permitted, in the affairs either of the church or of the school; but we believe the deviation is only apparent. The number of buildings or rooms appropriated to religious services—their site, and the date of their erection—their capacity, and their average or specified attendance—the denomination to which they belong—the means by which they are supported—these and other particulars are sought on precisely the same principle as the most strictly secular statistics. We do not see how they can be consistently refused, while the general protection of law is enjoyed. The value of the information sought is undisputed, and is equal to all sects: Churchmen and Dissenters, the obscurest schismatic, and the primate or heresiarch, are alike interested in this matter-of-fact survey of "the religious world." We could wish, indeed, that the information asked for were in some cases more precise—as, for instance, that the superficial contents of churches and chapels were required, that the gentlemen of Craig's-court might check, by their calculations, the statements made from the telling of heads or casting-up of sittings. Believing that our ministerial and other official friends will concur in these views, we forbear to enlarge.

THE CRYSTAL PALACE BY MOONLIGHT.—The clear nights, and the bright full moon have enabled us to see the Crystal Palace in a new light—that of moonlight. And certainly, like Melrose, you must see it by moonlight, if you would see it rightly. Under the blue, cloudless azure of the heavens, studded with its glittering star-eyes, the traveller westward sees its elegant proportions sail out into excellent relief, above the long line of Knightsbridge Barracks, like a delicate caprice of an evening's frost, gracefully disclosing its chaste beauties to its own chaste moon. Approach nearer, and a hundred moons sparkle in the tall arched transept, and the "broken light of stars" smiles at you through the web of iron network, and a silver glitter, chequered by the arms of intervening trees, floats outward till it loses itself in the dark distance of the park.—Leigh Hunt's *Journal*.

The life-boats of the Liverpool Dock Committee have, during the last ten years, assisted 269 vessels, either wrecked or in distress, and saved no fewer than 1,128 lives.

THE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT.

PETITIONS PRESENTED.

Agriculture, for relief of, 2, 17, 23.
 Attorneys' Certificates, for repeal of duty on, 23, 2, 3.
 Bible, for enabling all persons to print, 4, 5.
 Church of Rome, against encroachments of, 24, 22, 40.
 Coffee, against proposed equalizing duty on, 1.
 County rates, for control of by ratepayers, 8, 5, 5.
 Copyholds, for enfranchisement of, 2, 2.
 Crown property, for improved administration of, 1.
 Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, against, 23, 25, 242.
 Education, for National System of, 1.
 Game-laws, for reimbursing county of costs of, 1.
 Jews, against admission to Parliament of, 1, 2, 3.
 Legacy-duty, for excepting charitable bequests from, 1.
 Miners' Money (Ireland) for abolition of, 1.
 Law of partnerships, for amendment of, 1.
 Malt, for repeal of duty on, 2.
 Marriage with wife's sister, for legalizing, 1, 1.
 —against, 2.
 Merchantile Marine Act, for amendment of, 1, 2.
 Nunneries, for inspection of, 1.
 Newspaper, for repeal of duties on, 4, 1.
 Paper, for repeal of duty on, 22, 24, 21.
 Poor-law, for amendment of, 2.
 Property-tax, for repeal and modification of, 3, 4, 9.
 Public Salaries, for reduction of, 1.
 Punishment of Death, for abolition of, 1, 1.
 Slave-trade, for suppression of, 1.
 Smithfield Market, against removal of, 1.
 Sunday Trading Prevention Bill, for, 1.
 Taxation, for general revision of, 1, 1, 1.
 Windows, for abolition of duty on, 25, 15, 31.

BILLS PRESENTED AND READ A FIRST TIME.
 School Establishment (Scotland).
 Metropolitan Building Bill.
 Ecclesiastical Residences Bill.
 Civic Bills (Ireland).
 Church and Chapels (Ireland) Bill.
 United Church of England and Ireland Bill.

BILLS IN COMMITTEE.
 Passengers' Act Amendment.

BILLS READ A THIRD TIME.
 Mills and Factories (Ireland) Bill.

NOTICES OF MOTION.
 Thursday, March 6.—Lord Ashley—Bill to encourage lodging-houses for the Working-classes.
 Mr. W. Williams—That all monies raised as revenue be paid direct into the Exchequer.
 Mr. Anstey, on the Claim of the Rajah of Sattara.
 (Postponed to) Mr. Lacy—Bill to Prevent forcible Detention of Females in Religious Houses.
 In Committee.—On Income-tax Bill, Viscount Jocelyn, to alter Assessment of Farmers.

DEBATES.

THE LAW OF PARTNERSHIP.

Mr. SLANEY moved, on Thursday evening, for "a select committee to consider the law of partnership, and the propriety of limitations of liabilities, with the view to encourage useful enterprise and the additional employment of labour." From 1826 to the present moment his attention had been uniformly directed to measures of social reform; but no measure relating to the condition of the people was of more importance than that he was now about to submit to the consideration of the House. His firm belief was, that while all other classes had improved since the beginning of the century, the humbler classes were not better off than before, but had either remained stationary or retrogressed. Take a line drawn from the Humber to the Thames, and it would be found that in twenty-six counties on the south-eastern coast of England the abuse of the Poor-law for many years had lowered wages, destroyed independence, depressed comfort, as a similar neglect and abuse in Ireland had produced a similar result. The reports of the condition of the hand-loom weavers, of the farmers, of the employed children, and, above all, on the health of towns, showed that among 3,000,000 of the most intelligent of the people, there was much distress and degradation, from the neglect of those provisions which we ought to have enforced. If they turned to the cities and great towns, let them contrast the splendour, luxury, and magnificence visible on the one hand, with the squalor, misery, and wretchedness which crowded our streets on the other, and say if something wrong was not going on in our social system, which required calm and earnest consideration. The same contrasts were visible abroad; but here there was, at the same time, the greatest possible amount of heaped-up capital ready for investment, and an inability to use it. The state of the working classes was always regulated by the proportion of the supply and demand for labour; but this we had disturbed, and created a redundant population in England by the poor-law, and in Ireland by the Sub-letting Act. The demand for labour was seriously restricted by the law of settlement as it stood; but as there was a prospect of some remedy being applied to that, he would not offer any remarks as to the mode in which it operated to the prejudice of the working classes. He came at once to the restriction placed upon the employment of labour by the laws which prevented the united investment and distribution of small capitals for productive purposes. This was a subject important to all. If these fetters, by which private enterprise was now confined, were removed, the consuming power of the masses would be increased, and the Customs, as well as the manufacturer and producer of articles of home consumption, would be benefited by the greater demand, and the landowner would be advantaged by the increased demand for land, and the additional security he would have for his rent. At this moment there were heaps of capital lying idle, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was able to get money on Exchequer bills at 80 premium, being only 2½ per cent., the funds standing at 96!—the banks full, while thousands of the population were either unemployed or half employed, and numbers of the able-bodied and most productive classes were emigrating to distant lands. There was now

no mode by which persons of small capital could invest it, but it was driven through the bankers' hands to the great monied monopolists, who were thus enabled to put their foot on the neck of industry, and to profit by its misfortunes. The restraints which pressed upon the use of capital were divisible under four heads. The first was the load of legal chicanery which prevented any person getting accommodation on the security or sale of land without paying one-fourth more than was necessary by reason of the legal difficulties respecting title and conveyance. He rejoiced that that subject had been introduced in the Queen's Speech, and that it would be speedily brought under the notice of the House. It was stated by the ablest persons that there was a loss of five years' purchase, or one-fifth of the value of the fee-simple, in consequence of the legal expense and difficulties, and that if these were removed, instead of borrowing money on land at 4 per cent., it could be got at 3½ per cent. If the method of dividing loans into debentures transferable from hand to hand was adopted, the burdens on land would be relieved 25 per cent. He hoped to see the time when a man might obtain a loan on good security without being subject to any expense beyond a mere stamp, and the cost of drawing the deed. Why should not the machinery of the drainage acts be applied to enable private persons to lend money for the improvement of land on the same terms as Government? [hear, hear.] The act passed for the purpose was so loaded with difficulties that no one was ever heard of who had put its provisions into force. The second class of restraints on the employment of capital was the necessity of applying to that House for a private bill at a cost of £400, and great delay before the smallest improvement could be effected. Why not pass one act every session referable to each class of improvements—on the same principle as the Enclosure Act, which had been obtained after a struggle of thirteen years? The third class of restraints was that which related to our present law of partnerships. If a number of persons joined together for any purpose, any one of them who chose to become restive and troublesome might throw all the others into confusion, or into the Court of Chancery, and he need not say what that was. What he wanted was to give persons associated in any way the advantage of the rules of benefit societies, of suing and of being sued by their officers, and of regulating private disputes by the award of a magistrate. Then again, by our present law of partnership, if a person advanced a sum of money, however small, to aid in an object for which several persons were associated, he was liable, in the words of Lord Eldon, "to his last shilling and to his last acre." When Lord Carlisle and some other gentlemen joined to build model lodging-houses, they were stopped because they could not advance a farthing without being liable to the full amount of their fortunes; and when they asked for a charter they got it, indeed, but the cost was about £1,000, which took away all interest or profit from the undertaking. The report of the committee last session recommended that charters should be granted with greater facility and at much less expense, and he trusted that recommendation would be attended to. Next came the question of limited liabilities, which was one of the greatest importance. Unlimited liability prevented employment, kept down the wages of labour, and checked all useful combinations among the working classes. Mr. Baring, afterwards Lord Ashburton, and Mr. Stewart Mills, both high authorities, had expressed an opinion favourable to the alteration which he advocated. No member of that House, who might stroll up Pall-mall, could doubt the advantage of combination among the class to which he belonged, and he ought not to withhold from the working classes the opportunity of acting on that principle for purposes of their own. Some millionaires objected to the proposed change, on the ground that it would create factious credit, and encourage a spirit of speculation. Was there no speculation now? Only last year these were in the list of joint-stock companies the names of nine which had been formed for the purpose of gold-mining in California. The existing law did not prevent speculation; but it had this effect—it drove away the cautious and experienced man, who would not run the risk of being master of the whole of his property, and invited the needy and reckless speculator, who had little to lose in comparison with what he might gain. The law of limited liability prevailed in France, Italy, Holland, and the United States, and had been attended with advantageous results. If the principle should be introduced into this country, it might, he admitted, be necessary to accompany it with certain restrictions and safeguards to which he would not at this time more particularly refer. All he now asked for, was the appointment of a committee which should impartially investigate the question [hear, hear].

Mr. LABOUCHERE, on the part of Government, consented to the motion without quite concurring in the opinion of the mover. Authorities were divided on the expediency of a law of liability, and the profitability of co-operation; but he admitted that no obstacle should be placed in the way of experiments on that principle. He agreed with his hon. friend that the acquisition of land was at all times a favourite object with the poor not less than with the rich man; and that it was most desirable that the obstacles to the acquisition of land should, as far as possible, be removed. He rejoiced to find that, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Stamp Act of last session, one of the obstacles to the attainment of that object had been greatly diminished; and the bill which the Attorney-General had announced his intention to introduce in the present session for regulating the titles to land would remove a still more formidable obstacle [hear, hear].

With a verbal alteration, the motion was unanimously adopted.

EXTENSION OF THE FRANCHISE.

Mr. LOCKE KING then rose to move for leave to bring in a bill to make the franchise in counties in England and Wales the same as that in boroughs, by giving the right of voting to all occupiers of tene-ments of the annual value of £10. He said that he was happy to think he had the good fortune to have overcome the chief, he might say the only difficulty, which lay in the way of the Government agreeing to this motion last session. It was then said that bills of this kind ought to be brought in early in the session; that to lay bills on the table, and leave them there, with no intention of taking them up and going on with them, was trifling with the subject; and that, at all events, the lateness of the session was a sufficient reason for not supporting his motion. He considered, therefore, that in bringing forward his motion in the middle of February instead of the middle of July he had overcome the chief objection then stated by the Government [hear, hear]. The plan which he had to propose was simple in its nature, moderate in its terms, and practical in its operation; and he thought it might be said to have this further merit—that it would pave the way for the great, and he trusted comprehensive measure of reform which the House was to be favoured with by the noble lord when the proper time arrived [hear, hear]. He did not interfere with any principle of the Reform Bill. It did not propose to disfranchise one borough or to add a single representative. All it proposed to do was to remove some of the anomalies that existed with respect to the representation—to give the inhabitants of one locality the same rights and advantages as were already enjoyed under the same circumstances by the inhabitants of another locality. He would not shock the ear of the noble lord by introducing the word "lodger" on the present occasion, or by going into details respecting electoral districts, which had been called, he believed, discussions about "squares and parallelograms." Neither would discuss the question respecting the number of electors to each representative, which had also been called "arithmetical calculations;" and he trusted he might, on his part, be allowed to express a hope that the discussion would not lead to remarks about the dangers of revolution in connexion with reform [hear, hear]. The measure was one that the most moderate and cautious reformer might safely adopt [hear, hear]. It contained nothing that would at all interfere with those conditions which the noble lord last year declared to be essential to the progress of reform; when he said, "he had always considered it a condition in every reform—a condition which he thought had been happily complied with hitherto—that the representation of that House, the mode in which it was constituted, the mode in which the people elected their representatives, should be compatible and consistent with a monarchy and House of Lords." Now, the present small and comparatively insignificant measure was at all events perfectly compatible with things as they were, and would tend to strengthen rather than to weaken both the monarchy and the House of Lords [hear]. He hoped that the noble lord—he who had effected the greatest, best, and most important social revolution of modern times—would not object to remove those gross anomalies which now existed with respect to the representation, when it was shown that it could be done without incurring the slightest risk [hear, hear]. He would likewise maintain, that the present was a measure of sound policy. It had often been said, that they ought to extend the franchise as far as it could possibly be done with safety, and that by so doing the Legislature would be more respected, the law more promptly obeyed by the people, and property rendered doubly secure [hear]. He would ask, could there be any doubt of the respectability of that vast and numerous class who would be affected by this bill? Was it not to this very class that a great part of the Government owed their seats in that House? [hear, hear.] He would seriously and gravely ask, if a man was a better subject when he lived in one locality than when he lived in another? [hear, hear]. He might here quote a very apposite extract from a document which had been sent to him that very day:—

Tens of thousands of men, in certain favoured localities, distributed over the face of the kingdom (I believe the number for 1850, freemen included, is 471,502), enjoy the elective franchise because they pay a yearly rent of £10 and upwards; and tens of thousands of men, scattered over the remaining portions of the country, are deprived of the elective franchise because they pay a yearly rent of £10 and upwards to £50. The test of the requisite fitness and due responsibility to possess the vote, in certain places, is measured by a rent of £10, but in other places by a rent of £50. This distinction without a difference is invidious, and manifestly unfair.

He might bring forward a vast number of cases to show the great anomalies which existed. He would take, for instance, the county which he represented. In the borough of Reigate, one of the smallest boroughs in the kingdom, a £10 householder was represented, whereas in the large town of Croydon, which might be considered the capital of Surrey, a man might rent a house just somewhat short of £50, he might transact business in the metropolis, and be well-acquainted with all that was going on in the country, and yet be entirely unrepresented. Then there was the case of a mechanic, who might live in a house rented at £15 or £20 a-year, who might have £100 or £200 accumulated in a Savings-bank, and yet, simply because he did not live in a town, would be unrepresented [hear, hear]. He could not help thinking that these were great anomalies in a country where we professed to represent property and intelligence, and nothing else [hear, hear]. He felt he had a stronger claim to the support of the House this year than he had last year, in

consequence of the act that had since been passed to extend the franchise to Ireland [hear, hear]. No man could regret more than he did that that act was marred in its passage from that House and back again [hear, hear]. Still he contended that the same principle which had been applied to Ireland, viz., the principle of placing the borough and county franchise on the same footing, ought to be extended to England also. It would be adding insult to injury to say that the people of Ireland were more to be trusted in the exercise of the franchise than the people of England [hear, hear]. During the discussion of the Irish Franchise Bill, one of the strongest arguments adduced in its favour was, that the constituencies had actually decreased. Now, he could show that the county constituencies of England had decreased also. By comparing the electoral register of 1836 with that of 1849-50, he found there was a decrease in Berks, 1,039; Devon, 1,123; Dorset, 488; Hereford, 319; Shropshire, 505; Westmoreland, 747; Wiltshire, 585; and in Worcester, 475 [hear, hear]. But he might be told that he was going back too far. He would, therefore, compare the register of 1843 with that of 1850. By this comparison he found that there was a decrease in Bedford of 415; Berks, 709; Devon, 1,753; Dorset, 843; Hereford, 1,088; Shropshire, 998; Stafford, 1,577; Suffolk, 831; West Surrey, 348; Westmoreland, 210; Wilts, 584; and in Worcester, 1,379 [hear, hear]. Comparing the total number of county electors in 1843 with that of 1850, he found that in 1843 the number was 484,073; and, in 1850, 461,413—showing a decrease of 22,666 in seven years, while in the boroughs there had been an increase of 50,000 [hear, hear]. He thought that these facts proved that if the principle which had been laid down with regard to Ireland last session was a sound one, it ought to be extended to the English counties—the rather that in the case of Ireland the decrease of electors had taken place among a population almost stationary, whereas in England the decrease had occurred among a population rapidly increasing [hear, hear]. He believed that an objection might be raised, and very properly raised, against his measure, that it did not go far enough. He remembered very well hearing the noble lord say:—

There is nothing in any opinion I ever held, or in any opinion I hold now, which would debar me from seeing with satisfaction any plan by which the admission of the working classes could be still further extended, and the basis widened upon which the representation rests.

He was aware that the objection to the smallness of his measure was a great objection; but he begged to say that the measure was good as far as it went; and he hoped the noble lord would support it on the same ground that had induced him to bring it forward; viz., that half a loaf or a fragment of bread was better than no loaf at all [hear, hear]. He thought he had a claim also on the support of the right hon. gentleman the member for Ripon, who observed, with great ability, on a former occasion—

I must say, considering the increase of the democratic element in our institutions, that I see the greatest danger in erecting an immense superstructure on a narrow electoral basis. If that super-structure cannot stand upon an extended electoral basis, I am sure that a narrow basis cannot long sustain it.

The right hon. baronet would surely admit that the country had not decreased in its democratic tendencies; and that the figures he had brought forward must have shown him that the electoral basis was considerably narrower [hear, hear]. He thought, too, that, after what had recently occurred, not only in that house, but out of it, particularly at an election in not the least aristocratic part of England [hear, hear], he might fairly claim the support of the hon. gentlemen who had, up to a recent period, supported protection; for he believed that they would find it exceedingly difficult to re-obtain their seats unless they appealed to constituencies with an extended suffrage. He knew that the farmers had been so taught and tutored to cling to protection, that they would not give it up at a moment's notice for any one; and, though hon. gentlemen might attempt to persuade them that it was not a question of rent, they would continue to maintain that, if it was not a case of protection, it must be one of rent [hear]. He hoped that the hon. member for Buckinghamshire, with the enlarged views which he had recently adopted, would not attempt to coalesce with the electors who had been created under the £50 Chandois clause to answer a political purpose, but would go with him for an enlarged suffrage. He trusted that the day would not come when the people would find that it was only particular classes who could obtain a hearing in that house; when the law would cease to be a refuge to the oppressed, and become, instead, the arm of the oppressor; and when it should be said, with truth, that that House had at its disposal false instead of equal weights and balances [cheers].

Lord JOHN RUSSELL immediately rose, and said:— Sir, the hon. gentleman who has made this motion has done it certainly in a most temperate manner [hear, hear]. He has laid it before the House with as little of exaggeration, either as to its merits or its nature, as any member could possibly desire [hear, hear]. I think this motion differs very much from several which the house has considered of late years, inasmuch as I do not think any reasonable objection can be alleged against the class of persons whom he proposes to introduce into the county constituencies [hear]. I admit at once they are a class of persons who, if entrusted with the elective franchise, would probably use it with intelligence and integrity [hear, hear]. But the question really is, whether this proposal will be an improvement of our representation. I have always considered that this was the question which the House had to decide in any proposal of this kind. I never could think, with the hon. gentleman the member for Montrose, that the chief point was whether certain persons with certain qualifications

should be invested with the franchise, or whether it was a hardship—the hon. gentleman using a harder term, calls it a species of tyranny—to exclude them from the franchise. The view which I have taken has been this—that seeing the power which this House possesses, observing that this House is the representative of the country, and finding that succeeding parties have increased its means of controlling all the other branches of the Legislature, what was really important is not that any particular persons should be entitled to vote at elections, but that the general result should be advantageous to the country, that this House should fairly represent the intelligence and the genuine wishes of the nation. Now, if we consider this proposal with a view, first, to what has hitherto been the case with regard to the franchise in this country, it will be obvious that it is in direct opposition thereto. There has always been, to a late period, this distinction in principle between the representation of counties and the representation of boroughs—though it has certainly not been uniformly carried out—that the representation of counties was a representation of tenure, of persons who voted in consequence of their tenure; and that the representation of boroughs was a representation of persons who voted according to the variety of their occupations; the one class being usually denominated freeholders, and the other householders, by whom, according to very ancient authorities, the right of voting in towns and boroughs was possessed. In the course of the discussion on the Reform Bill, a proposal was made to effect a very great change with respect to the representation of counties, by admitting a class of voters who could not vote in virtue of tenure, but who merely held farms by occupation. And Lord Chandois, who made that proposal, succeeded in carrying it by means of the votes of many of those who were undoubtedly reformers. Lord Althorp, at that time, pointed out very strongly the objections which existed to such a proposal; but those objections did not prevail with the hon. member for Montrose and others. But I own I never considered that an improvement [hear, hear]. I have always been convinced that so far as it diminished the power of the forty-shilling freeholders it rather weakened and enfeebled the strength and independence of our representation [hear, hear]. And I must say, not looking at this as a question of ancient policy, but practically and in reference to present circumstances, that I have found that when a candidate seeks the vote of a farmer, who, perhaps, is paying considerable rent, he is often met with the answer, "I cannot enter into the matter with you—I must consider the opinions of my landlord;" while, on the other hand, I have seen among the smallest and poorest freeholders, a feeling of independence, and a spirit of integrity. Well, the proposition of the hon. gentleman is to admit a very large number of voters by occupation, and thereby further to diminish the power of that valuable class to which I have just alluded [hear, hear]. In looking over returns relative to the various counties of England, I find that the £50 occupiers are at present in a minority, certainly, as compared with all the other electors, the greater part of whom vote by freehold tenure, and all by a tenure for some considerable period. In Berkshire the number of £50 voters is 971; and all the other voters 4,270. In Cheshire, the number of £50 voters is 4,022; the other voters 11,901. In Derbyshire, the £50 voters are 2,663, the others, 10,208; and in Devon 4,920, the others 14,018. I do not need quote any more of these particular instances, but in the whole of the English counties there are about 100,000 electors who vote by £50 occupation, and 375,034 of all other kinds, the greater mass being forty-shilling freeholders. Now, if you admit, in round numbers, 350,000 persons who would have the right of voting as £10 occupiers, it is very obvious that you would deluge these 40s. freeholders, and destroy their importance in county elections—a result, I think, much to be deprecated. But, beyond this, I think that our object should not be to introduce the uniformity which the hon. gentleman recommends. His argument is very shortly, and little more than, this:—You have £10 householders who have the right of voting in boroughs, and it is only fair that they should have the right of voting in counties. I have rather considered on all occasions when this subject has been brought before me, that it was a decided advantage that there should be various rights of voting, and that the class of persons entitled to vote in one place should not be the class of persons to whom is accorded the right of voting in a different place. . . . The hon. gentleman does not remember, that in Ireland we have destroyed that old class of voters to whom I have alluded as being so valuable in England—the 40s. freeholders; and when I said last year, in supporting the bill for the extension of the franchise in Ireland, that I thought it most desirable to place Ireland on a footing with England and Scotland in this respect, it was because I took into consideration that extinction. I cannot think, then, that this measure would tend to improve our representation. I would much rather continue the ancient distinction and maintain this difference—that whilst householders shall have the right of voting in boroughs and cities, freeholders alone shall have the right of voting in counties. But let it be understood that I am very far from saying that the large class of persons whom this proposal would admit to the right of voting is a class from whom our existing institutions have anything to fear [hear]. I have stated that I do not think it advisable to adopt this proposition. On another occasion I stated that I thought that some extension of the franchise was desirable. At the same time, as the House will recollect, I said I did not at all agree that it was an evil to have county, large city, and small borough constituencies, but, on the contrary, that if we merely had a representation of numbers, this being an intelligent and a wealthy country, would not be so well represented as at present. With these opinions I certainly could not be a party to that which some members of this House seem to wish, namely, a revolution in our ancient system of representation, and the sweeping away of the Reform Act, together with all the other acts on which the present state of the representation is founded. But, at the same time, I do think it is desirable to introduce a measure by some further extension of the suffrage [cheers]—and by which, in particular, we should afford to the working classes greater opportunities of obtaining votes than they at present possess [cheers]. I answered to an hon. gentleman (Sir Joshua Walmsley), who put the question to me the other night whether the Government were about to introduce any measure for the extension of the suffrage, that we had not that intention. There are reasons, peculiar to the present time, and general reasons of

policy, why, in my opinion, such a course would be inadvisable. It has always seemed to me that when great changes have been accomplished in this country, and while the minds of the people are still uncertain about the effects of those changes, it is most prudent and politic to avoid very frequent elections, and every violent agitation on questions in which the interests of the country are deeply involved. I have likewise thought that, of late years, not only having ourselves many changes in legislation, but finding immense political alteration taking place in foreign countries, anything which tended to stability, anything which showed that we were proceeding quietly and calmly, was an advantage to this country, and was calculated to preserve us from many evils. I can see no reason why, at the commencement of next session, there should not be laid before this House, by the Government, a proposal in respect to this question of Parliamentary reform [cheers]. Certainly, if I am a member of the Government at that time I shall deem it my duty to lay my views on this subject before the House of Commons [cheers]. I know perfectly well that those views would not altogether meet with the approbation of the hon. member for Montrose and of gentlemen who agree with him. But I have so often stated the difference of opinion which exists between us that it ought to create no surprise in his mind at finding that I have come to a practical conclusion, essentially distinct from that proposal which he has laid from time to time before the House. I do not, however, think it undesirable—considering that by next session 20 years will have elapsed since the passing of the Reform Bill—that we should then consider whether there are not great numbers of our people not possessed of the franchise, who are not only fully qualified to exercise it, but whose exercise of the suffrage would tend to the improvement of the character of this House [cheers]. I am, myself, perfectly satisfied with the experience we have had of that act. I believe that the representation since 1832 has been such as to give confidence to the people at large [hear]—which confidence they would not have had in a House of Commons in which were members for Old Sarum and for Gattton, and in which were not members for Manchester, and Leeds, and Birmingham [cheers]. I am perfectly satisfied that the influence of that Reform Bill, loudly as it was denied at the time that it could be so, has been salutary; and therefore, in any changes we may make, we ought to consult the spirit of that act—to consult the temper and the genius of the people of these United Kingdoms, and not attempt to construct any fanciful edifice, based upon a new theory of our own, but, building upon the old foundation, continually endeavour to improve the symmetry and add to the convenience of the ancient habitation [loud cheers].

Mr. HUME was glad that at last they had obtained a definite promise from the noble lord; although it was not very pleasant to be told, after all, that if they would wait till next session, they might then get something. The noble lord did not seem to be aware that he was to blame for having passed twenty years without an effort to remedy the over and over again acknowledged defects of the Reform Bill. The same reasons which existed now, for a movement in this direction, had existed during those 20 years; and what he (Mr. Hume) had asked all along, he would continue to ask, that having taken a wise step in passing the Reform Bill, they should carefully and calmly continue in the same course, and admit the whole of their fellow-countrymen within the pale of the constitution. The noble lord had referred to him unfairly, in reference to his support of the Chandois clause. He certainly had supported that clause, and on the distinct ground that it was admitting to the franchise those who would not otherwise have obtained it; but, at the same time, he had called upon the noble lord to give to this and to all other classes that proper protection to their votes which would have been conferred by the ballot. The noble lord had been unwise slow in regard to parliamentary reform, and he now felt that he had jeopardized his own interests in the house and in the country by thus neglecting the defence which he would have found in popular support against the threatened retrogression to protection and monopoly. He and his party now found that they would have to give way, and the result would be that still greater demands would be made upon them.

Mr. COBBEN had heard with great pleasure, and he was sure the country would participate in this feeling, the declaration just made by the noble lord [cheers]. He only hoped that the country would give that attention to the subject which would enable them to secure a real measure of reform [hear, hear]. Let the House remember the scenes they had witnessed or read of during the last three or four weeks, in the elections for some of the smaller boroughs—such as St. Albans and Falkirk. When he compared those elections with what had transpired upon the continent during a general election, in which 6,000,000 of people had been polled, he found more violence, more drunkenness, more bloodshed, and more mortal combats, in one of these insignificant boroughs than occurred in the whole of France among those 6,000,000 voters [hear, hear]. The conclusion to which he came was, that these constituencies of 200, 300, and 400 electors, with open voting, and so much bribery, corruption, and intimidation, ought to be utterly extirpated from our electoral system [hear, hear]. As to the immediate question before the House, the noble lord admitted that the £10 householders in counties were persons wholly unobjectionable in point of circumstances and character. If, indeed, property were the test of character, a man who rented a £10 house in a village or small market-town would generally be found to be in superior circumstances to the £10 householder in a large town [hear, hear]. But the noble lord objected to the motion, because it would be an innovation upon the system of voting by 40s. freeholders in counties. But, having given the £50 tenants-at-will a vote for the counties, the noble lord had not shown how it would increase the evil to give a vote to the £10 householders. He (Mr. Cobden) contended that it would give a fairer repre-

sentation than stopping at the £50 tenants at will. A farmer who rented a farm depended for his subsistence upon the employment of his capital in land; and the landlord had great power over him, because by withdrawing the land, he was withdrawing the means of living from him. But if the same landowner went to a market-town and gave notice to quit to any shopkeeper who refused to vote for him, the man would say, "I can find another house and shop if you deprive me of this." If they looked to those counties where the forty-shilling freeholders had the most influence, as in the West Riding of Yorkshire and Lancashire, they would find their representatives voting in favour of this motion; while the Opposition to it would come from those counties where the influence of the tenants at will was predominant. He was not sure that the noble lord would not after all find it desirable to adopt the principle of the present motion in any measure he might propose. He might try the plan of grouping together country towns and small places: but how would he group together into a borough such places as he would find in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where, in an extensive valley, there was a continued series of mills, cottages, and houses? Take the case of Barnsley, the seat of the linen manufacture of Yorkshire. That was an important town, yet it had no representative, while Pontefract, which was not half the size, sent two members to the House of Commons. Rotherham, Dewsbury, and many other places in the manufacturing districts, they would find, must either be grouped into boroughs, or else the inhabitants must have a £10 franchise for the counties.

The noble lord (Mr. Cobden concluded by saying) when speaking upon another question the other night stated that the mass of the people were determined to maintain the commercial policy which has been adopted. The noble lord's words are just as applicable to the proposal now made to gain for the people their right of representation [hear]. Passing over the fact that the ministry were saved from a minority upon that question by only fourteen votes, I ask, what is the state of the county representation as presented to us lately? Take Herefordshire, Glamorganshire, Nottinghamshire, Montgomeryshire—take the elections now going on for North Staffordshire and for Bedfordshire—six counties or divisions of counties. No doubt the mass of the people in those counties are determined to maintain free-trade, but a free-trade candidate would not have a chance of succeeding in any of them [hear, hear]. Why, you have only two classes, landlords and tenants, to return county members; and the voters are only a small fraction of the population of those counties. I say that it is a great peril to your institutions, and a reproach to the country, if you allow such discrepancies to exist as this—that all the counties, although the inhabitants may form a free-trade majority, send up men to vote in parliament for dear bread, against the free export of the products of industry, and for high living, and all that appertains to it, and then they are said to represent the county [hear, hear]. I consider that my hon. friend has done great service by bringing forward this motion [hear, hear]—for the country will be glad to hear that it has elicited from the noble lord the assurance that we shall have a very large, extensive, and complete modification and improvement of our representative system.

After a few words from Mr. P. HOWARD, in support of the motion, the House divided. The numbers were:—

For the motion	100
Against it	52
Majority	—48

The announcement of the numbers was received with much cheering.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

Sir BENJAMIN HALL put a question to Lord John Russell on Friday evening, which he prefaced by a very prolix statement, to the effect that the parishioners of St. Andrew's, Wells-street, had complained to the Bishop of London of the Puseyite practices of their minister, and had also written, on the same business, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, without practical effect. His question was, whether the archbishops or bishops were about to take any step for suppressing these practices?

Lord JOHN RUSSELL replied explicitly, but with customary Parliamentary circumlocution. The pith of his answer is as follows:—

I happen to know perfectly well that the Bishop of London has taken the best legal advice which he could obtain, and that his attention had been for some time turned to the subject, and I am sure he will do everything in his power to obtain the removal of those practices which he thinks not consistent with the mode of worship prescribed by the Church of England [hear, hear]. The Archbishop of Canterbury has informed me that he has had conferences with the bishops upon the same subject, and that he believes they are sincerely desirous to put an end to those practices. But he states, also, that there is some uncertainty, and very considerable expense in enforcing the law; that the terms of the rubric are such that it is not always very easy to compel clergymen to confine themselves to that which appears to the archbishop its reasonable meaning [hear]. The archbishop stated to me that he did not think, under the present state of affairs, any interposition of the Legislature was necessary; but that if he should find the uncertainty of the law such that the general wishes of the bishops for the performance of pure Protestant worship could not be enforced without some alterations in the law, that then application should be made to Parliament upon the subject [hear, hear]. I hope my hon. friend and the House will understand me. I hope they will understand I am not alluding to any alteration of the rubric or the liturgy, but to the mode of carrying the existing law into effect. Such having been the statement made to me by the Archbishop of Canterbury on this important subject, I think it most desirable that the matter should remain in his hands.

The subject was not permitted to drop here. Mr. A. B. HORSEY rose with considerable warmth, amidst cries of "Oh, oh!" and laughter. He asked ex-

citedly, were they living two centuries back, and had they got into the Long Parliament? [oh, oh! and laughter.] If they did not look sharp they might come to the Barebones Parliament yet. Were individual clergymen to be dragged before the House of Commons in this way? How was the noble lord to stoop from his elevated position to discuss such cases? If so, Parliament would soon assume a character which would astonish those that were the cause of it [oh, oh]. It had been alleged against the clergyman in question (Mr. Murray) that he had attended the Roman Catholic cathedral. Mr. Murray was a friend of his (Mr. Hope's); and he had simply twice attended controversial lectures in this Roman Catholic chapel, and then he saw there a rev. gentleman for whom Lord John Russell had some respect (the Rev. Dr. Cumming) [cheers and laughter], and of whom he was a great admirer, as well as the Rev. Mr. Binney. He (Mr. Murray) had never been more than five times inside a Roman Catholic structure in his life. Mr. HUME brought up the case of the dying woman in the parish of Marylebone, mentioned in our last; Sir R. INOLIS joined in the discussion; and it was only put down by the impatience of the House.

MINISTERIAL CRISIS.

On Friday evening, private business having been disposed of, and the conversation given above having concluded, the question for going into Committee of Ways and Means was put.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL rose (the House being very full) and said, in a marked and peculiar tone: May I request, Sir, that this order of the day may be postponed to Monday next? [loud cries of "Hear, hear," from all sides of the House.] On Monday next, on the question of going into the further discussion of the Budget, I shall be prepared to state the reasons which have induced me to move this adjournment [hear, hear].

Mr. HERRISS instantly rose and said: I beg to ask the noble lord whether it is intended positively to proceed with the Committee on Ways and Means on Monday [hear, hear]—but I will state on that day the reasons why I now postpone it [hear, hear].

Lord J. RUSSELL: I cannot state now whether it is intended positively to proceed with the Committee on Ways and Means on Monday [hear, hear]—but I will state on that day the reasons why I now postpone it [hear, hear].

This announcement was followed by a loud buzz of conversation, which continued to the adjournment of the House, and rendered the remainder of the proceedings almost inaudible in the gallery.

The order of the day for going into Committee of Ways and Means was accordingly postponed to Monday, and the House adjourned at a quarter to six o'clock in great excitement.

On Monday both Houses, of course, were filled at an unusually early hour. In the Lords, the Marquis of LANSDOWNE rose and said:—My lords, as there is no business before us I may take this opportunity of moving that this House at its rising do adjourn to Friday next. In making that statement I feel that, however imperfect and insufficient any communication which it is in my power to make may be found to be relating to the present position of affairs, any information given or communication made to the other House of Parliament should in substance be made also to this House; but in doing so I confine myself simply to a statement of facts as I understand them to have occurred. My lords, on Friday last, in consequence of divisions which had recently taken place in the other House of Parliament her Majesty's servants communicated with each other. From domestic circumstances I was not one of the number on that occasion—but they communicated with each other, and on that day her Majesty was led to believe that it was probable her servants would resign on the day following. Early on Saturday morning I came to town, and such resignation was respectfully and unanimously tendered by her Majesty's servants to her Majesty. In the course of the same day, the noble lord whom I see opposite was, as I am informed, invited to attend at the palace, and a proposal was made to him to construct a Government. I am informed that the noble lord stated that he was not then prepared to form one; and, upon that communication being made, recourse was had to other persons, and more particularly to my noble friend lately at the head of the Government, and he was requested to reconstruct an administration. My lords, this is the present state of affairs. All that it is in my power now to state to your lordships is, that my noble friend lately at the head of the Government, has, upon reflection, thought it to be his duty towards her Majesty and the public to attempt the re-construction of another administration. Beyond this, I have nothing to say. I speak as the organ of a Government which, in fact, exists no more—but which is in office nominally only—and of which I am only the representative as long as it so continues in office, and for the purpose of making this communication [hear, hear].

Lord STANLEY immediately rose, in obedience to the glances directed towards him, and said: My lords,—None of your lordships will, I am sure, be disposed to offer any opposition to the motion of the noble marquis that this House shall adjourn—at any rate, with regard to any business of importance—to a later day. My lords, I will not attempt to offer any comment on the statement which has been made by the noble marquis; circumscribed as the country now is, it is impossible that a complete revelation of what has occurred can take place, and it would not be consistent with my duty to offer any explanation;

which must necessarily be of an imperfect character. I will only say, my lords, that on Saturday I had the honour of a lengthened audience with her Majesty, when I laid before her, fully and unreservedly, the whole of my views on the state of the country and the present position of parties. Nothing could exceed the gracious condescension, and, if I may use the word, kindness of her Majesty throughout the whole of that audience; but of what passed at that interview—either what advice I humbly tendered, or what was stated by her Majesty—I think at the present moment I should ill require the confidence and favour which was reposed in me if I were to say a single word [cheers]. When the time shall come at which this political crisis shall have passed, I shall be prepared to state fully and unreservedly to your lordships and the country the whole substance of the advice I humbly tendered, and the course which, as a public man honoured by the confidence of her Majesty, and a privy councillor, I felt it my duty, on that occasion, to recommend [hear, hear].

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE again rose, and said: After the forbearance which the noble lord has exercised, unquestionably it would be improper to deprive him of an opportunity of stating fully, when the proper time has arrived, that which he may consider most conducive to his own honour and to the interests of the public. In the mean time, I beg to say, that I have stated nothing more than that which I have been strictly informed [hear, hear].

The noble lords then separated.

In the lower House, by five o'clock, the benches, both Ministerial and Opposition, which had been gradually filling since four o'clock, presented an unusually thronged and excited appearance. The least incident was seized upon; and one which created a vociferous burst of cheering and laughter was the entrance of Mr. M. Milnes, who walked up the house and inadvertently, of course, sat down in Lord John Russell's usual seat. Presently, Mr. Secretary HAYTER moved a new writ for Harwich; Sir John Cam Hobhouse having accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, prior to his elevation to the Lords. The time having come for reading the orders of the day, Lord JOHN RUSSELL rose, and, amid the most breathless silence, addressed the House as follows:—Sir,—On Friday evening last I promised the House that I would, on this day, state the reasons that induced me to propose on that evening an adjournment of the Committee of Ways and Means to the present time. I now rise to acquaint myself of that engagement. The House will remember, that immediately after the commencement of the session, a motion was made by the hon. member for Buckinghamshire, calling upon her Majesty's Ministers to take immediate measures for the relief of the distress prevailing among the owners and occupiers of land. Every member of this House, and every person in the country, must have considered that that motion was a motion to take out of the hands of her Majesty's present Government the conduct of the measures which it is the duty of a Government to propose. The honourable member for Bucks took a perfectly parliamentary course on that subject. He stated that he had in vain appealed to the Government during the previous session, and that he now had no resource but to appeal to the House of Commons. I do not in the slightest degree complain of the course adopted by the hon. member, I merely wish to state what must be the effect in the view of every one, if that motion had been successful. Two hundred and sixty-nine members of this House voted for that motion, and two hundred and eighty-three against it, and, therefore, the majority of those present consisted of only fourteen members. Now, Sir, upon a question of that kind, brought forward in hostility to the Government at the very commencement of the session, the Chancellor of the Exchequer having given notice of his intention to bring forward the financial statement of the year, a majority of only fourteen must tend to weaken any Government, it being impossible to carry on the business of the country with so small a majority in the House of Commons. But it appeared to me, that although the majority was small, yet if there was a determination on the part of all members forming the majority to maintain those principles of commercial policy which in effect were in question on that day, that that union might have made up for the smallness of the majority, and that the Government might have conducted successfully the affairs of the country. But on the 20th of February a motion was made with regard to a certain question of Parliamentary reform; and on that question, though in a thin House certainly—there being scarcely more than a hundred members—the Government was beaten by a majority of two to one. Now, Sir, if that had occurred in ordinary circumstances, I might have thought that it was owing to the thinness of the House, and to those who were in favour of the motion having brought down a considerable number in support of it, and that probably on the discussion of the bill, which must have been introduced founded upon that motion, there would have been a majority in accordance with the views of the Government. But, in the circumstances in which we were placed, I did consider, that though honourable gentlemen may have acted entirely with a view to the particular question before the House, and not at all with reference to the results upon the Ministry, I did think that, though that being their intentions and views, yet in effect having the whole of the financial and other measures before us, and the probability, as I am inclined to think and believe there was, that on those other measures, and on other incidental questions we might meet with similar defeats [hear, hear]—I came to the conclusion that the Government was not in a position to conduct

satisfactorily the business of this House during the present session [hear, hear]. I thought that it was for the public interest that if that was the case the House should not be called upon to go into discussions of our financial measures, and to form decisions on those questions, when it was probable that the Government would not be able to go successfully through the session. I thought likewise that it was a dangerous and very disadvantageous thing for the country that a government should continue liable to defeat from time to time, having but a very small majority at any time, and carrying on, therefore, but a lingering existence during the great part of the session yet to come. I, therefore, assembled the other members of the Cabinet, and stated to them that in my opinion the best course we could take, as a Ministry, was to tender our united resignations to her Majesty, and to leave her Majesty free to form another administration [hear, hear]. Sir, my colleagues in the Cabinet concurred with me in that opinion [cheers from the Ministerial side of the House]. One very important member of that Cabinet, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Lord President of the Council, was at the same time absent in the country, and I did not formally tender our resignations on that day (Friday) to her Majesty without having first consulted him. Therefore it was that I asked the House to consent to an adjournment till to-day [hear, hear]. Early on the following morning the Marquis of Lansdowne came to town. He met me at Buckingham Palace, and stated that he concurred with me entirely in the view we had taken. I thereupon proceeded at once to lay before her Majesty the unanimous resignations of the members of her administration, which resignation her Majesty was graciously pleased to accept. Her Majesty was also graciously pleased to inform me that it was her intention to send immediately to Lord Stanley, and to entrust him with the charge of forming a new government. Later in the day—in the afternoon—I was requested to go again to Buckingham Palace, and on arriving there I was informed by her Majesty that Lord Stanley had stated that he was not then prepared to form a government. Her Majesty then asked me to undertake the charge of reconstructing a government that might be able to obtain the confidence of the House of Commons. Sir, I thought it my duty, in these circumstances, to attempt the task her Majesty was graciously pleased to impose upon me; and I assured her Majesty that I would undertake it, though I was perfectly aware of the many difficulties surrounding such an attempt. The House will, I think, agree that I should only add to those difficulties, and be, at the same time, acting most improperly if I were to state anything further on this occasion [hear, hear]. I have only, therefore, to request the House, without passing to any discussion, or to any judgment as to what has taken place, to adjourn until Friday next, when I trust some definite result will have been come to; and that I shall be able to say either that I have succeeded or that I have abandoned the task that I have undertaken. In either case the House will then learn what is likely to be the result [hear, hear]. I beg, Sir, now to move that the House do adjourn till Friday next [cheers].

Mr. DISRAELI rose amidst cries of "Order," and other symptoms of impatience from the ministerial members, and said: I feel it my duty, after the statement of the noble lord, to occupy the attention of the House for a moment. It is most true—and, indeed, a matter of public notoriety—that Lord Stanley has had an audience with her Majesty, and when he shall receive her Majesty's gracious permission to state what transpired at that audience, he will do so publicly and in a constitutional manner in his place in Parliament. But there is one observation which fell from the noble lord I feel it my duty not to pass unnoticed. When the noble lord states that Lord Stanley stated to her Majesty that he was not prepared to form an administration—

Lord JOHN RUSSELL: Not "then" prepared [cheers].

Mr. DISRAELI: "Not 'then'" prepared to form an administration—the correction of the noble lord does not affect what I am about to state. I must express my conviction that when the noble lord said that Lord Stanley stated to her Majesty that he was not "then" prepared to form an administration, he made a statement to the House which on further reflection he will, I think, acknowledge was not founded on what actually occurred [hear, hear].

Lord JOHN RUSSELL: After what the hon. gentleman has stated, I will only say that Lord Stanley will no doubt at the proper time, when he shall think fit to do so, and have received the permission of her Majesty, state what really occurred. My belief is, that the statement which will then be made by Lord Stanley will bear the construction I have put upon it.

Mr. ROEBUCK rose from the cross benches and said: I have one observation to make as to the extraordinary statement which the House has just heard. We are about to adjourn till Friday. The noble lord is about in the meantime to endeavour to reconstruct his cabinet. The noble lord may fail, and then, without the House of Commons having the slightest opportunity to express any feeling of its own, her Majesty will be obliged—I may so use the phrase without disrespect—to send for somebody else to make an administration. Now, I do hope that the noble lord who has hitherto, as the leader not simply of a great party in this House, but as heading and representing a great principle, that he will not forget in all the proceedings which are about to take place that that principle is now in his hands—that in a great measure what will hereafter take place as to the great principle of financial arrangement in this country will depend on the proceedings he may pursue; and on him will be the responsibility if

we have again to fight the battle of free-trade [cheers].

The motion that the House at its rising do adjourn till Friday, was then put and carried; and the House accordingly adjourned at twenty minutes past five—the anxiously expected scene not having occupied more than a quarter of an hour.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A NEW VICE-CHANCELLOR.—Lord LANGDALE has laid on the table of the House of Lords a bill to repeal so much of the act of 1841 as precluded the appointment of a third vice-chancellor, and to authorize the appointment of a new vice-chancellor.

LORD CAMPBELL has brought in a measure for the Registration of Titles; and a bill for the more effectual punishment of burglary, and also of robbery committed by means of chloroform. He was sorry, he said, to be the instrument of extending the criminal code, but when new crimes were resorted to it was necessary that new punishments should be provided for them.

INFORMALITY IN PETITIONS.—On Wednesday afternoon Lord Duncan presented a petition from Bath, in which surprise and regret was expressed at the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with regard to the window duty, and which prayed for unconditional repeal. The SPEAKER said the petition was informal. Mr. WAKLEY thought that as it was probable many other petitions would be prepared to the same effect within a few days, it would tend to the convenience of the House for the Speaker to state the rule distinctly. The SPEAKER said the rule of the House was that no person out of the House should allude by petition or otherwise to what had taken place in a debate in the House. If a proposition had been submitted to the House for an alteration of the window tax, and thus formed part of the proceedings, so that information respecting it could be obtained in a legitimate manner, a petition might be presented in reference to it: but it was not competent to parties to petition about a measure which could only have come to their knowledge through reading the debates of the House.

COMPOUND HOUSEHOLDERS BILL.—Sir W. CLAY, in moving the second reading of this bill, said there were many thousand persons in London and other large towns who, though they occupied houses of the yearly value of £10, were virtually disfranchised, because the rates were compounded for and paid by the landlord. He had in his pocket a letter from a person who stated that he paid his landlord £26 a year, and yet was disfranchised. There was a clause in the Reform Bill by which a person who tendered the rates in his own person was entitled to be registered; but the tender must be renewed on every occasion when rates were payable—a great personal inconvenience and consequent public evil, which he proposed to remove by the bill. Mr. MACKENZIE and Mr. SPOONER objected, but Lord JOHN RUSSELL and Lord R. GROSVENOR concurring, the bill was read a second time without a division.

EXPENSES OF PROSECUTIONS BILL.—Sir G. GREY has brought in a bill to regulate the expenses of criminal prosecutions, and to make further provisions for the apprehension of offenders. He explained that there were at present three classes of expenses—first, the preliminary expenses incurred in bringing the case before the magistrate, including charges on the part of witnesses; secondly, the expenses attending the trial; thirdly, of rewards given by the court to persons who had been active in the apprehension of offenders. He proposed to authorize the Secretary of State to regulate and harmonize these now anomalous matters. Mr. J. S. WORTLEY described the measure as a step towards the appointment of a public prosecutor.

REMOVAL OF SMITHFIELD MARKET.—Sir George Grey has also obtained leave to introduce a measure providing that a commission of five persons be appointed by the Crown, under the title of the Metropolitan Cattle Commission, with powers to select sites for a cattle and meat market; to construct lairs, pens, and other conveniences; to levy tolls on cattle and meat, subject to a maximum; and to report when the new market is fit for use, that on that fact being notified to the Secretary of State, Smithfield Market might be finally closed, and no cattle market erected within a radius of five miles from St. Paul's. The commission was also to regulate the routes and times for driving cattle, to raise money by way of mortgage, and to licence slaughter-houses. Mr. STAFFORD remarked on the great amount of patronage that would thus be conferred upon the Government. Mr. BUCK and Mr. ELLIS thanked the Ministers on behalf of graziers. Mr. S. WORTLEY intimated opposition from the corporation. The bill was submitted to the committee on standing orders.

SAINT ALBAN'S AND AYLESBURY ELECTIONS.—The petitions of electors, complaining of these elections, have been referred to the general committee of elections; and the Speaker has issued his warrants for persons, papers, and records.

INTRAMURAL INTERMENT.—Lord SEYMOUR has stated, in reply to Sir D. L. EVANS, that the Board of Health have lost no time in taking all the preparatory steps necessary to bring the act of last session into operation. There were many provisions in the act which necessitated much previous deliberation, and which had occupied very considerable time; but he hoped before long it would be in active operation.

THE PAPAL AND THE SCOTTISH BISHOPS.—Mr. J. STUART asked Lord John Russell, on Thursday, whether any of the law officers of the Crown had given any opinion to the effect that, in order to the vindication of the supremacy of the Crown against

the aggression of the Pope of Rome, it was necessary or expedient that the enactment of penalties or disabilities against the Protestant bishops of the Scotch Episcopal Church should be submitted for the sanction of Parliament? Lord JOHN RUSSELL replied in the negative: it was not the practice of the Government to ask the opinion of the law officers of the Crown as to measures which the Government might consider it necessary to bring before Parliament.

THE NATIONAL GALLERY.—Lord JOHN RUSSELL has intimated his intention of bringing forward some measure with respect to this invaluable collection of paintings.

AMENDMENT OF THE LAW (IRELAND).—Mr. HATCHETT has obtained leave to bring in a bill to consolidate and amend the laws relating to civil bills and the Courts of Quarter Sessions in Ireland, and to transfer to the Assistant Barristers certain jurisdiction as to insolvent debtors.

EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND.—Viscount MELGOUND has brought in a bill to reform and extend the school establishment in Scotland.

PASSENGERS' ACT AMENDMENT BILL.—Mr. HAWES has in charge a measure thus entitled, the object of which is to secure the same safety and protection to parties going from one British port to another as is secured by the existing act to passengers between British and foreign ports.

PAPERS ON THE HUNGARIAN QUESTION.—Lord DUDLEY STUART excited much merriment in the House on Friday evening, by describing the difficulty he had had in obtaining from Lord Palmerston the promised Hungarian documents. Last session he had actually followed the noble lord from the House to the Foreign Office, and had been shown the tin box in which they were deposited, with an assurance he should have them at the end of the week; but the week and the session had ended, yet the papers had not been received. Lord Dudley told his story with much serious good humour, and Lord PALMERSTON replied in the same strain. He acknowledged that his noble friend had a right even to be angry, but assured him that an intense and incessant pressure of business had disabled him from making the necessary selection; and once more promised early compliance.

THE LATE GENERAL BEM.—A letter has been addressed to the *Times*, from Aleppo, containing many particulars relating to the late General Bem, which were communicated to the writer by the Hungarian General Kmetty. After advertizing to the rumour that General Bem had been poisoned at the instance of the Turkish Government, the writer says:—

To put the fact of Bem's decease beyond all suspicion his physician, Monsieur Kalozdy, an Hungarian of considerable attainments, has drawn up a report intended for the press, showing the nature of the malady, and the natural causes of Bem's death. This painful event took place at half-past one a.m. of the 10th of December last, when this first of artillery officers—the King of Cannons, as he was surnamed in the Hungarian wars—breathed his last, at the age of fifty-five, in his country-house, close to the walls of Aleppo. His grave lies on a height near the military barracks of the town. To the common cause of grief and solitude his immediate friends have another—the circumstance of his deep poverty. Bem has left foreign debts amounting, as far as is yet known, to about 40,000*l.* His creditors are chiefly in Paris. Bem, like some other illustrious men, cared little for money. The wealth of assaulted cities lay at Bem's feet, but he remained poor, bearing an irreproachable public reputation. One incident worth a hundred will serve prominently to exhibit the grandeur of Bem's character. At a moment when, chiefly through his instrumentality, the flag of Hungary was everywhere triumphant, the Government of that country offered him the command-in-chief of all the Hungarian forces—an elevated position, but one which he would only consent to accept after the Government had explained itself distinctly on the points which were nearest his heart—the freedom of the Slavonians and the reconstruction of Poland. Bem would sacrifice self in everything to attain these great ends. Even to the last the mind of this remarkable man lost none of its vigour; he was actively engaged in useful experiments designed to benefit the country which afforded him its hospitality, and though they diminished his pecuniary resources, yet his purse was ever open to succour his needy countrymen. Permit me to add, that the Sultan's Government, with an honourable generosity, has provided for the payment of his local debts; and Mahomet Pasha, late Ottoman Ambassador to St. James's, and now Governor-General of Aleppo, is generously occupied in measures calculated to promote the object proposed in respect to the European creditors of the deceased. P.S., 23rd of January.—At a public sale held here to-day of a portion of Bem's effects, considerable anxiety was felt to obtain *souvenirs* of the late General. An odd cotton sock, worth 4*d.*, sold for 9*s.*; a cotton coat, worth 25*s.*, sold for 5*s.*; a pair of fur-lined inexpressibles, worth 30*s.*, sold for £6; common cotton nightcaps, worth 3*d.*, brought 1*s.*; a broken common china cup, value 2*d.*, sold for 20*s.*; an old pillow-case, value 1*s.*, brought 6*s.*; a cravat, value 7*s.*, realized 20*s.*; a pair of leather straps, value 1*d.*, sold for 9*s.* &c.

The *Gazette* of Friday contains an intimation from the Foreign Office on the subject of passports, by which it appears that in future the fee on the issue of a passport is to be 7*s.* 6*d.*, and that they will be granted between the hours of twelve and four, on the day following that on which the application for the passport has been received at the Foreign Office. There are some further regulations assimilating the present to the former system as regards minor arrangements, "a recommendation to the Secretary of State by a banker or some other person known to him," being, however, a new feature.

LAW, POLICE, ASSIZE, &c.

THE PRESS AND THE LAW OF LIBEL.—Two actions of libel have been tried this week—in the one case against the *Times*; in the other, the *Daily News*; and in both, singularly enough, the plaintiff got a verdict—damages, one farthing. The former case was that of “Wilks against Lawson.” Wilks was the turnkey of Marlborough-street Police Court, from which Hackett and another escaped. On inquiry, Wilks was discharged; and when Hackett was again in prison, he boasted of being able to make his escape by his command of money, and several suspicious circumstances were disclosed against Wilks. For stating these the action was brought; and, as the plaintiff sued in *forma pauperis*, the *Times* was saddled with the costs.—The *Daily News* was more fortunate. It had copied the report of a police case in which a Lieutenant Weaver and a lady figured. The report was alleged to have been informally drawn up, though substantially true. Lord Campbell gave a highly-important statement of the law of the case:

There could be no doubt that the law would justify a fair account of the proceedings, although it might reflect upon any party whose name was brought forward; for it was of the last importance that the public should be furnished with fair reports of the proceedings in courts of justice; the benefit infinitely exceeded the evil. He must go further, and say that it was not necessary that it should be a report of all that took place, for if that condition were imposed the liberty of the press would be totally useless, because it was not possible that all that took place should be put into print. For instance, the very eloquent speech they had heard from his brother Wilkins, if it were merely said that “Mr. Sergeant Wilkins eloquently replied,” it would not follow from that that the account was an unfair one; or if it merely said that “Lord Campbell summed up and the jury returned their verdict,” that would not show that it was unfair; but if the report were garbled, if anything was omitted, or anything introduced that did not take place, then it might be libellous, and the law would punish it, and give redress to the individual. They were therefore, to consider whether this was a fair report, and, if it was, the defendant would be entitled to their verdict. Although the plaintiff might have been very ill-used, that was not a question for them to determine. It would be monstrous to say that the publisher of a newspaper should be liable because the account given of a trial might reflect upon either of the parties, or convey what was not true; it was only to be considered whether it was a fair report. It could not be expected that the defendant was to prove that all that was said at the police-office was true. All that could be required was to show that the report was true.

The jury retired for some time, and then sent to ask if a farthing damages would carry costs? Lord Campbell sent for them, and stated, that although he saw no reason why he should not answer them, his learned brethren considered that no answer should be given to that question. Acting upon that, they must again retire. The jury shortly returned, and gave a verdict for the plaintiff—Damages, one farthing. Lord Campbell:—Gentlemen, I may now tell you that the plaintiff will not have costs. Happily for the defendant, the plaintiff could pay his own costs:—In the case of Richardson v. Wodson, an action for libel in the *Yorkshireman* newspaper, the Court of Queen’s Bench has granted a rule for entering the verdict for the plaintiff. It will be remembered that at the trial, the finding of the jury was that mismanagement, artifice, and defalcation did exist in every company over which Hudson and the plaintiff had control; but the jury negatived the allegation of individual corruption charged against the plaintiff. By this rule the whole of the costs, which are very heavy, will fall upon the proprietors of the *Yorkshireman*.

DEFECTIVE STATE OF THE CRIMINAL LAW.—A man named Smith was lately convicted of obtaining a half-crown by means of a forgery. His counsel submitted that the indictment was bad, inasmuch as the specific coins obtained by the prisoner were not set forth. At the Middlesex Sessions on Monday, Mr. Sergeant Adams said he had consulted several judges upon the point, and the result was that he had now to order the prisoner to be discharged, and in so doing would remark that it was highly desirable that some Act of Parliament should be passed to do away with all these monstrous absurdities.

COMBINATIONS OF WORKMEN.—An indictment of considerable importance has been tried in the Court of Queen’s Bench. One Hewitt and other members of a club called the Philanthropic Society of Coopers, were charged under the statute, with molesting a workman named Evans, attempting to force him to pay £5, for breaking one of their rules (working at a steam saw-mill) and compelling him, in default, to leave work. The jury returned a verdict of Guilty against all the defendants. Lord Campbell, in passing sentence, said that the offence was a most serious one, and, if allowed to escape with impunity, would bring ruin upon the trade and manufactures of this country, and upon the workmen themselves. All benefit societies would be protected while acting lawfully, but would be punished when they interfered with the free will and exercise of the industry of their members. Hewitt, the president, and another man, were sentenced to one month’s imprisonment; two others were to pay one shilling each; and all to find sureties for their good behaviour for three years.

THE RATES OF DISTRICT CHURCHES.—The Commissioners of Paving for the parish of St. Luke, lately obtained a summons against Messrs. Sowter and Rydon, churchwardens of the district church of St. Matthew, City-road, for the recovery of £16 17s. 9d., arrears of rates alleged to be due by them in respect of that edifice, on which Mr. Arnold has now

given a decision on behalf of the plaintiffs. The case is of considerable importance to the congregations attending the numerous district churches and chapels erected under the provisions of the Church Building Act. The defendants are attached to an endowed church, the minister of which receives his stipend through the Ecclesiastical or Church Commissioners; the whole of the seats are entirely free, and the churchwardens entirely dependent on the voluntary contributions of its frequenters for the payment of every expense. They have no powers for levying any rates whatever; should the edifice require the most urgent repairs they have no funds to make them; and they will be compelled to pay the rates in question out of their own pockets.

BREACH OF PROMISE OF MARRIAGE.—In the Court of Queen’s Bench, on Friday, a young lady, named Bussell, obtained £800 damages from a gentleman named Dennis, a solicitor in Austin Friars, in receipt of an annual income of £1,100. The latter pleaded—first, that he did not make the alleged promise; secondly, that he had not been requested to marry the plaintiff; and, thirdly, that a reasonable time had not elapsed to enable him to do so. His counsel said “the ladies had helped on the matter too eagerly.”

BETHELL v. HOARE.—**THE FUNERAL OF THE LATE THOMAS STEELE.**—This was an action brought by the plaintiff (an undertaker), in the Westminster County Court, to recover of defendant, who was connected in some way with the subscription fund raised for the burial of the late Pacifier, certain expenses incurred in the performance of the funeral. Mr. John O’Connell, M.P., and Mr. Reynolds, M.P., had been subpoenaed, but the first-named gentleman not answering to his name, the hearing was adjourned.

ATTEMPT TO OVERTURN AN EXPRESS TRAIN.—On Thursday, at the Aylesbury Court of Quarter Sessions, James Prior and George Newns were indicted for maliciously endangering human life by laying down obstructions upon the London and North Western Railway, at Cheddington. The jury found Newns Not Guilty, and Prior, Guilty. The Chairman sentenced Prior to the highest penalty which the recent act of Victoria allows; viz., two years’ imprisonment. The Court expressed an opinion, that the law had not made suitable provision for the punishment of such an offence.

CAPITAL CRIMES.—A man named Clark, living at Bath, is in custody for killing his wife in a brutal manner. He is a carpenter by trade, and on coming home, found his wife in a state of intoxication; a violent quarrel followed, and when the other lodgers interfered, they found him in a sitting posture against the wall, supporting his wife, and shaking her, apparently for the purpose of bringing her to a state of consciousness. Her person presented marks of great violence.—An investigation concerning the murder of a married woman named Sarah Roberts, who was found dead in a ditch by the side of the tram-road leading from Hereford to Abergavenny, has closed in a verdict of “Wilful Murder” against Isaac Roberts. The coroner issued his warrant for the committal of the prisoner to the county gaol for trial at the forthcoming assizes. He seemed much affected, and earnestly protested his innocence.

THREATENING SIR W. SOMERVILLE.—On Wednesday morning last, Sir William Somerville, M.P., Chief Secretary for Ireland, waited upon Mr. Broderip, at the Westminster Police Court, and having handed him some letters, the contents of which did not transpire, a warrant was immediately issued against the writer for threatening personal violence to the right hon. baronet. The warrant was forthwith executed, when the accused appeared—an Irishman of genteel appearance and good address—appeared, and gave his name, Samuel M’Carthy. In the course of the inquiry it appeared that an imposition had been practised upon the defendant, which led him to apprehend that his wife had been ill-used by the right hon. baronet. The explanation appearing to be well founded, Sir W. Somerville did not press the matter, and the defendant was discharged—the magistrate observing that, had it been proceeded with, good bail would have been required.

CUSTOM-HOUSE AMENITIES.—It is distressing to witness the performance of the searcher’s duties. Mrs. Tiplip’s boxes are thrown upon the counter, uncorded, unlocked. The searcher commences by removing huge piles of silk dresses, Mrs. Tiplip looking on in a state of the greatest excitement. The searcher vigorously rams his arm to the bottom of the trunk, and by a dexterous twist tumbles its contents into a condition of the most picturesque confusion. Mrs. Tiplip feels that she will faint if the man does not desist at once; but he regards neither her confusion nor her expostulations. He rolls a dozen pair of stockings upon the counter; he rattles her jewel case, and asks for the key; he minutely inspects her supply of linen; he brings to public light all kinds of little secret cosmetics and artifices, which gentlemen are not usually privileged to see; he hopes that there is no contraband article secreted in her needle case; he trusts that there is nothing but cotton in her work-box; and having chalked a huge hieroglyphic upon the trunk, pushes the whole tumbled, exposed heap from before him, and turns to another victim. Now and then he ruthlessly seizes a bottle of brandy, a few yards of lace, or a pair of new shoes, but, generally, finds nothing worth touching. The value of his contributions to the Queen’s Bazaar scarcely covers the amount of his salary.—*Dickens’s Household Words.*

COURT, OFFICIAL, AND PERSONAL NEWS.

THE QUEEN held a Chapter of the Order of the Garter, at Buckingham Palace, on Wednesday. The Knights Companions “elected” the Marquis of Normanby to fill the stall rendered vacant by the death of the Duke of Newcastle; and her Majesty, assisted by Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge, “buckled the garter on his lordship’s left leg,” and with similar assistance “put the riband over his lordship’s left shoulder.” Lord Normanby received the Chancellor’s admonition, kissed her Majesty’s hand, and “having received the congratulations of each of the Knights Companions, retired.” The Duke of Cambridge presented to her Majesty the insignia of the Bath worn by the late Duke, his father.

THE RECTORSHIP OF MARISCHAL COLLEGE, ABERDEEN, promises to excite an interesting contest. The Earls of Eglintoun and Carlisle, Lord Ashley, and Mr. Alfred Tennyson, are already in the field; and Lord Eglintoun has volunteered, if successful, to present himself for personal installation, according to the ancient form.

THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN is now announced to consist of Archbishop Whately, Bishop Wilson, the Earl of Rosse, Chief Justice Blackburne, Commissioner Longfield, of the Encumbered Estates Commission, and Mr. Cooper, of Marktree Castle—all Protestants, it is observed.

THE REV. JAMES SHERMAN (we learn from the *Patriot*) met with a painful accident yesterday week. By a false step, the left foot became entangled with the right and was turned inwards, which occasioned him to fall. The ankle and arch of the foot became much swollen, and the agony was intense. It was thought at the time to be only a severe sprain; but, upon examination, it was discovered that the metatarsal bones of the fourth and fifth toes of the left foot were broken. He is now confined to his bed; but his friends will be glad to learn that the pain has greatly subsided, and hopes are entertained that, after a few weeks, he will be able to resume his duties.

MR. CHISHOLM ANSTEY and his seat in Parliament have been the subject of a perplexing hoax. First it was stated that he would resign at the bidding of his constituents; next, it was denied by the *Globe*, on his own authority. “Mr. Chisholm Anstey has resigned his seat for the borough of Youghal in compliance with the requisition of his constituents; and the statement under his name in the *Globe* of yesterday evening is without his sanction,” said the *Times* of Friday morning. The *Globe* rejoined in the evening:—“We should be glad to know who ‘requested’ the *Times* ‘to state that Mr. Chisholm Anstey has resigned his seat for the borough of Youghal, in compliance with the requisition of his constituents; and that the statement under his name in the *Globe* of yesterday evening is without his sanction.’ Our statement had the sanction of the assurance and autograph of the honourable member himself.” The *Times* itself gets an autograph assurance the next morning, that it had been imposed upon, and that Mr. Anstey had not resigned.

THE GOVERNOR OF THE GOLD COAST is recently deceased. Sir William Winniett, R. N., the late governor, had written letters dated November 30, 1850, and had caused his luggage to be packed up, preparatory to his return home, but letters, dated the 4th of December, convey the information of his death.

THE MOTHER OF CARDINAL WISEMAN, Mrs. Xavia Wiseman, died on the 7th inst., at the house of her daughter, the Countess of Gabrielli, at Fano, in Italy, after a short illness.

J. A. HALDANE, Esq., well known and venerated in the religious world, died on Saturday se’nnight, at his house, in Edinburgh, of an attack of gout, in the eighty-third year of his age. The *Scotsman* has the following remarks upon the character and career of the deceased worthy:

There are few instances in the history of the Church of such disinterested zeal in the cause of the Gospel. In early life Mr. Haldane commanded the Melville Castle, East Indian, but for the last fifty-four years has devoted his whole time and talents to preaching the Gospel, not only without the smallest pecuniary remuneration, but at considerable annual expense. His successful exertions in promoting the revival of religion in Scotland, especially at the commencement of the present century, as well as those of his late brother, Robert Haldane, of Airthrey, have been often gratefully acknowledged by all parties. Mr. Haldane always declined any clerical title, although there was probably no clergyman of his day more assiduous, both in public and private, in the discharge of his ministerial duties. While he never shrank from maintaining his own peculiar views, he was distinguished for the catholicity of his spirit, and his readiness to co-operate in every work which he considered calculated to advance his Master’s cause. The sick and the poor, not only of his own congregation, but throughout the city, have lost in Mr. Haldane a friend whose name has long been familiar to them, and to whom they were accustomed to look for advice and assistance.

WILLIAM WILSON CARUS WILSON, Esq., died yesterday week, at the age of 86, at Casterton-hall, his seat in Westmoreland. He was for several years M.P. for Cockermouth, but retired from Parliament in 1826, and was for a short time Vice-Lieutenant of Westmoreland during the absence of the late Earl of Lonsdale from the country. He had been presiding at a Protestant meeting at Kendal, to petition Parliament against the Papal aggression, and on his return home was taken very seriously ill, and died in a few days.

MR. GEORGE THOMSON, the correspondent of Burns, expired at his residence in Leith Links, yesterday week, at the advanced age of ninety-two. Mr. Thomson's early connexion with the poet Burns is universally known, and his Collection of Scottish Songs, for which many of Burns' finest pieces were originally written, has been before the public for more than half a century.

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES have been informed by Sir Robert Inglis of the intended retirement of the celebrated historian, Mr. Hallam, from the office of vice-president, which he has filled during the last thirty or forty years. The loss of his only son is the cause of his resignation.

TRIBUNALS OF COMMERCE.—A systematic effort is making to establish a Tribunal of Commerce in London, for the adjudication of commercial cases by arbitration. A public meeting on the subject was held on Wednesday, in the great room at the Hall of Commerce. The assemblage was most striking in point of numbers and influence; the Lord Mayor presided; several members of Parliament were present, Sir James Duke, Mr. John M'Gregor, and Mr. Arthur Anderson, and a large number of mercantile men. The requisition for the meeting had been signed by 1,000 of the merchants, bankers, and traders, of the city. Mr. Francis Lyne said that what they wanted was a court of equity, where the judges were practical men of business, with a barrister learned in commercial law appointed by the Government; where technicalities were discarded, and the special pleader was denied all power for quirks, quibbles, and chicanery; where the utmost force was given to usages, and where truth would be perfectly free, come from whom it might; where the expense would be moderate, and the justice prompt. It was stated by Mr. Anderson, that to avoid the evils attendant on the present administration of the law, many persons voluntarily submit themselves to the arbitration of their own members—the practice with the members of the Stock Exchange, as well as with the Jews and Quakers; and that great corporations and companies require cases involving contracts for buildings and works to be submitted to the decision of their own engineers and architects. A resolution in favour of the establishment of a Tribunal of Commerce was passed, and it was resolved that memorials should be forwarded to the Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Trade.

RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.—On the morning of yesterday week there was a collision on the Birmingham and Derby branch of the Midland Railway, between the trains connected with that and the Great Northern Company. Two waggons were smashed, and seven or eight others damaged more or less. The expected up-mail train from the north created serious apprehensions. Communication with Birmingham by electric telegraph was completely cut off, as one of the posts and the wires at the Water Orton station had been broken down by the carriages coming in contact with them when the collision occurred. Fortunately the messengers and signals succeeded in staying the progress of the train.—On the same evening, the wheel of the engine drawing the Parliament-train on the London and North Western Railway, came off near Alderley; the train left the line, and the carriages were smashed and heaped together to the height of twenty feet. The driver was killed; a heavy screw-jack was found lying on his breast, and could not be removed for half an hour. Several of the passengers were much injured. One extraordinary fact is, that an empty carriage—apparently that next the tender—was thrown completely over the tender and engine, and lay on its side, some ten yards in advance, on the down-line.

MR. DISRAELI AND THE FARMERS.—As many as 800 persons were present at the dinner of the Cambridgeshire Protection Society, on Saturday week; the Earl of Hardwicke, Lord-lieutenant of the county, in the chair. In the course of the proceedings, one Mr. St. Quentin said, "God forbid that he should throw out the idea that Mr. Disraeli was not heart and hand in the cause; but if he was so, he had only to say that he (Mr. St. Quentin) did not understand so much mental tactics. This might be only the House of Commons' way of doing things; but if so, the House was composed of a most extraordinary set of men" ["So it is," and laughter]. Several speakers rose to defend Mr. Disraeli, and the Hon. E. Yorke proposed a vote of confidence in that gentleman. The vote was agreed to "amidst deafening cheers."

A WORKING LORD.—The *Western Times*, in commenting on Lord Ebrington's resignation of the office of poor-law secretary, on account of the reduced salary, observes:—"We say, let the people have their liberties and franchises—let the Commons keep a tight hold of the purse strings—but let the lords have fair play, and give them all honour when they act like honest men, and devote their energies and cultivated intelligence to the progress of society, and the necessary abatement of their own conventional distinctions. Why, we know a lord connected with the West of England, who, having let a handsome fortune be engulfed in the debts of his father, which had neither moral nor legal claim upon him, is now working hard in an office of public trust, giving a portion of his salary to the creditors, and, on principle, not permitting a drop of wine to enter his house. Is it not evident, that men imbued with that spirit would adorn any station of life in which Providence might have cast their lot?"—The gentleman alluded to is Lord Courtenay, son and heir of the Earl of Devon, who is one of the poor-law inspectors.

LITERATURE.

WORKS ON POPERY, THE "AGGRESSION," ETC.

We have again received numerous publications on the much-agitated Papal question. We wish to adhere to our resolution, as far as we can, to trouble our readers no further with the replications in this controversy; but we find it impossible, with justice to the authors of several good pamphlets now before us, to refuse to chronicle, and briefly remark on, some of these latest utterances of opinion. We hasten to do so this week, hoping that any delay would render a later mention of the actually disputative of these publications absurd and useless. It will not be supposed that we mean to confuse with these deliverances on the hierarchy business, works devoted to the fundamental, permanent questions in debate between us and Rome. Far from that,—all treatises on the principles and practices of Rome, of Popery everywhere and in all guises, will be welcomed and carefully examined by us; and by none more than by us, for the very reason that we so deeply and unmixedly feel, that *ideas* and *facts*—not petty acts of Parliament, to enforce the pettiest, most irrational, and, necessarily, most unsuccessful, ecclesiastical restrictions—must fight the battle with the corrupt and encroaching power calling itself the Holy Catholic Church.

Among the books touching more the essence than the present form of the Papal controversy, we have received Mr. SHERIDAN KNOWLES'S *The Idol Demolished by its own Priest* (A. and C. Black)—being an answer to Cardinal Wiseman's "Lectures on Transubstantiation;" in which is an exposure of the misinterpretations, suppression of evidence, and plausible sophistries of that work. Mr. Sheridan Knowles labours believably and earnestly in the new sphere of literature on which he has entered. His volume deserves attention for its own intrinsic worth, for its idiomatic strength English, and for the sake of the writer. It is, however, a little too declamatory in tone, and hasty in temper.

Another slight work, worth mention here, is *Auricular Confession*, by the Rev. H. H. BEAMISH, M.A. (Partridge and Oakley), a discourse on the true confession of sin, as contrasted with Romish practice and Tractarian leanings.

Among the pamphlets directly bearing on present affairs is one we intended to notice before, but it got mislaid—*The Papal Panic*, a sermon by the Rev. W. S. M. ATTCHISON (Houlston and Co., Paternoster-row), one of the best contributions, during the whole excitement, to the true estimate, civilly and religiously, of the "aggression," and the duties to which spiritual men are thereby called. Admitting fully the "destructive strength" of Romanism, it searches into the elements and aids of that mischievous power; and then shows, with serious and convincing earnestness, that there are other Antichrists of "more portentous magnitude," and threatening us more fatally than "the reascendancy of the Papacy."

—The Rev. J. A. JAMES's pastoral address on *The Papal Aggression and Popery Contemplated Religiously*, is a good deal ahead of what has been generally produced on the side Mr. James takes on the matter. It is excellent in feeling, moderate in its polemics, and faithful in its practical teachings—we extract a few lines, which might have been part of a *Nonconformist* leader in the height of the agitation:—

"Our Church of England friends cannot but know, and should not forget that, apart from its religious creed, Popery has been in act, cruel, persecuting, and bloody, only by the aid of the civil power. Take away one of its swords—I mean the temporal one—and it may anathematize, but could not kill. Its curses would be only thunder upon paper—mere *brutum fulmen*. The principle which in Popery is so dangerous to our liberties is that which she holds in common with every Protestant secular establishment of religion—the union of Church and State. We must, therefore, stand forth against the popery of Protestantism, as well as of Rome. We must still continue to lift our voice against those religious distinctions which breed civil discontents and ecclesiastical corruptions amongst ourselves."

The practical upshot of these remarks seems to be, that, as the possession of civil power makes an ecclesiastical body persecuting and dangerous to liberty—Popery in this country not having the civil power, is, consequently, not thus threatening and dangerous—but, the Episcopal Church, which HAS civil power, is the most dangerous, most-to-be-dreaded, ecclesiastical body, in this land.

The Pope's Bull and the Dissenters' Duty, and *Rimini and Oxford; or, The Miraculous Picture of Mary, and a Divine Portrait of the Church*, London: Ward and Co., Paternoster-row, are discourses by the Rev. BREWIN GRANT, whose soundness and heartiness we greatly like; but who is sometimes sharp and rough-flavoured, and sets one's teeth on edge. His writings have always truth and manliness about them, and render real aid to the cause he advocates,—as is the case with these sermons; but the author will good-naturedly laugh when we earnestly assure him, that his

style—or manner, or whatever he chooses to call the expressional features of his composition—always affects us similarly to a good teasing, poking, and hauling, by some uncouth, but not unamiable, rattling companion.

We can but name *Popish Aggression and Religious Liberty*, by Rev. EVAN DAVIES (Simpkin and Co., Paternoster-row)—*Popery against the Pope*, by JOSEPH DREW (Green, Paternoster-row)—*The Papal Controversy and the Position of Dissenters*, by Rev. G. A. SYME, M.A. (Hall and Co.)—*Priesthood and State-Churchism*, by Rev. SAMUEL BOWEN—as marked by individual excellences, and all right-minded and truthful in their views. A discourse entitled *Christ, not Peter*, by Rev. J. HUDSTON (Hall and Co., Paternoster-row), refutes the assumptions of Rome, and, additionally, demands resistance, "civilly and legislatively."—*John Bull versus the Pope's Bull*, (Nisbet and Co., Berners-street, Oxford-street), is a rather queer mixture of vulgar rhodomontade and some good notions about education and Church reform.—*The Signs of the Times; or, The Popery of Protestantism* (Gibbs, Paternoster-row), treats more questions than one; handles roughly the Bishop of London, principally with reference to the well-known and abominable use of persecution in the case of the Rev. Mr. Harvey, now of the English Episcopal Church at Boulogne; and adds a few slashes for Dissenters, as being "intolerant," "bigoted," and "truly Popish."—*Protestant Priestism*, by Rev. HENRY MORE, (Jarrold, St. Paul's Churchyard), sets forth the truths that Christianity is without a priest, and that priesthood is the "proto-pseudos" of the Papacy, in a well-reasoned and useful tract.

Several other publications are on our table, but we have gone farther than we intended already, and we must be content with this acknowledgment to their respective authors.

The Poet of the Sanctuary. A Centenary Commemoration of the Labours and Services, Literary and Devotional, of the Rev. Isaac Watts, D.D. By JOSIAH CONDER. London: John Snow.

This memorial of Dr. Watts was prepared at the request of the Committee of the Congregational Union, and read at its last Autumnal Assembly, at Southampton. It was appropriate and useful that such a tribute should mark the visit of the Union to the birthplace of our chief devotional poet; and the assembly rightly characterised the essay with which Mr. Conder presented them, as an "interesting and able paper." We have not been always pleased with Mr. Conder's notions of sacred song, nor with his performances, whether compositions or revisions, in the hymnology of our churches; and we confess to both interest and apprehension with reference to his proposed edition of Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns, advertised at the close of the present work as preparing for publication, "Revised and Adapted to Congregational Worship." We have a high appreciation of the labours of Dr. Watts, and the benefits they have conferred on the church for more than a century; and we believe that more of the first qualities of the hymn-writer were possessed by him, than by any of his successors. And we have also a strong sense of the thorough unfitness of a large number of his compositions, not only to public worship, but also to any private use, in the awakening of religious sentiment, or the purification and elevation of devotional feeling. There are some compositions which are equally execrable in theology and poetry,—the sheerest doggrel, the poorest thought, the most repellent utterance, are to be found there,—we read them with repugnance—we listen to them in public service with a painful shudder. Many fine hymns have a connexion of thought through all the verses, but are unfit for use from the occurrence of some unfortunate verse, disfigured by ludicrous or incongruous imagery, or false sentiment, not capable of omission without destroying the sense. But Watts has a spiritedness, simplicity, and fervour, which are very likely to suffer greatly from a revising hand; and Mr. Conder's alterations of the works of other poets certainly left with us no pleasant memory, and no confidence of hope for his future attempts in the same line. We have, therefore, somewhat carefully studied this essay, as likely to throw some light on the execution of the work upon which the author is engaged; and we have come to a conclusion, for the impartiality of which the remarks now made may be taken as voucher, that Mr. Conder has qualified himself for his task by a true study of Watts, more complete and discriminating, perhaps, than any previously, or likely to be ordinarily, made. He evidently will be jealous of alterations, and reverent in attempting them; but also bold in rejecting, unsparing in weeding-out, those unsuited to the purposes of worship. Our only apprehension is, that the language may be too much tamed, while the dogmatic theology, so inconsistent and injurious in its effects in sacred song, may not be sufficiently purged out.

We are glad of this opportunity of a word on

modern hymns. Have we not suffered too freely the admission of effusions destitute of poetic quality and of genuine devotion? Have we not accepted many marked only by piling sentiment, stereotyped "experience," and weak didactics? Could we, with taste and conviction, defend a tithe of the most popular hymns in use in general Supplements? Do we not need a very searching and complete reform in the matter as well as the manner of congregational singing? Is not the hymn-book of most evangelical communities a poor specimen of the intelligence and manliness of our Christianity? Are there not many whose experience corresponds to our own, that the hymn-book is no symbol to thoughtful men amongst us; and often an occasion of ridicule and disgust among "those that are without"? And need it be so? Should it be?

We have got rather awry from our theme—on a subject we desire to commend to consideration. Mr. Conder's essay is, however, fairly responsible; for it is suggestive of this and many other allied subjects.

The volume opens with a sketch of the origin and progress of psalmody, from the earliest times, and adduces thereon much interesting information; and it is seen by this review that hymns, properly such, were invented by Watts. A biographical notice follows; with remarks on the poetic productions, and general literary labours of the poet-divine. From that which is personal to Dr. Watts, we make the following extract:—

"In 1694, the year in which Isaac Watts returned to Southampton, to prepare himself in retirement for his future ministerial labours, Philip Henry, John Howe, William Bates, Samuel Annesley, and Matthew Mead, were still living. Within a few years before, the grave had closed over the mortal remains of Owen, Bunyan, Baxter, Flavel, Rosewell, and Steele. Matthew Henry, the son of Philip, though born only twelve years earlier, died nearly thirty years before Dr. Watts; whose life thus forms an intermediate link between the great theologians and confessors of the seventeenth century, and their degenerate and frigid successors in the middle of the eighteenth.

"It was during the residence of the youthful student at Southampton, Dr. Gibbons tells us, that he was first led to compose some hymns at his father's suggestion. The compositions sung by the congregation at Southampton being of a very humble description, and little to young Watts's taste, he could not forbear representing the matter to his father, who desired him to try if he could compose better. And thus one hymn after another was produced, which laid the foundation of his first volume. Local tradition has preserved the interesting anecdote that it was while looking out upon the beautiful scenery of the harbour and river, and the green glades of the New Forest on its further bank, that the idea suggested itself to him of 'a land of pure delight,' and of 'sweet fields beyond the swelling flood, drest in their living green,' as an image of the heavenly Canaan. And the expression in another (the foregoing) hymn—"Not a wave of trouble roll across my peaceful breast, may be supposed to be an allusion to the unruffled surface of the waters on a serene summer's evening, tempting to the bather in that sea of rest."

As a specimen of Mr. Conder's criticisms on the Hymns, we also quote the following remarks:—

"Here [in the Hymns] Watts had no model, but struck out a new style of composition, which has served as a precedent for his successors. Had he been acquainted with the treasures of the German language the hymns of Luther and his countrymen might have tempted imitation, and, perhaps, have emboldened him to take a freer, if not a loftier flight and a wider range. But he deemed it necessary to study the usage and the prejudices of the time, to confine himself to four sorts of metre, 'fitted to the most common tunes,' and to adapt his compositions to 'the level of vulgar capacities.'

"To judge of the merit of these hymns, not only should their design be taken into account, but the execution should be compared with that of paraphrases, which profess to keep close to the words of Scripture; and it will be found that, generally speaking, Dr. Watts's paraphrases are at once more spirited, without being less faithful, and more melodious, yet equally close and terse. In the hymns of the First Book, there is, as might be expected, great inequality; and a large number, including those which are founded upon passages in the Canticles, have sunk into disuse. But some of them rank among his happiest efforts, and will be the solace of believers and the edification of our churches as long as the English language is spoken. . . .

"In the Second Book, the form of the hymns is professedly 'of more human composition,' and the author indulged in more 'gay and flowery expressions' and brighter images. It is not to be wondered at, that his characteristic excellencies and defects as a poet should in these compositions be more prominent. Upon the blemishes it is not necessary to dwell, further than to express a wish that a larger number of these compositions had been transferred by the pious author to the *Horn Lyrion*, or that a sounder discretion were exercised in excluding from the public service hymns adapted only for t' e closet."

This little work must have fully satisfied those who sought its production; and wherever the Hymns of Watts are used—and where are they not?—it will be received with interest and gratification. The author fairly deserves the thanks of all such readers.

Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development. By H. G. ATKINSON, F.G.S., and HARRIET MARTINEAU. London: John Chapman.

MR. MONCKTON MILNES lately said of Miss Martineau, "She will believe anything—if it's not in the Bible." The witty saying finds illustration and proof in this new volume, on the nature and

development of man—a book professedly of serious philosophical inquiry; but for credulity, ignorance, and impudence, unsurpassed and indescribable.

Mr. Atkinson is a person who has engaged in investigations—to use a term more complimentary than true, as applied to such inquiries—into the nature of the human being, with a view "to ascertain the real basis of a science of mind." The spirit in which he has made his researches may be judged from such complacent assertions as these,—

"All the systems of the whole world are wrong"—"I have nothing to say but that we must turn aside, and begin afresh"—"Of course I need not say that these popular notions [of philosophy of mind] are mere delusions. I cannot tell you how odd it seems to me to have to assert such a self-evident fact." To this gentleman Miss Martineau humbly prostrates her understanding, with a "do-teach-me-something" tone; and, whatever may be the responses of the oracular philosopher so besought, she eagerly and confidently accepts them all as the absolute truth of things.

The mutual gratification of the parties is secured by an interchange of compliments; in which the vanity and falsehood of both are broadly displayed. Such an amusing instance of reciprocal faith and flattery is quite a novelty. Certainly the plan of the book, for managing this co-partnership in puffery and notoriety, is no bad idea.

The authors clear the way for their "new philosophy," by rejecting, *en masse*, the knowledge and experience of all generations of men—by denying Psychology and Metaphysic—by ignoring all systems, all history, and all facts, except those observed by themselves. At the very outset they propound their doctrine, that "Mental Philosophy is the physiology of the brain," or, as Spurzheim called it, *Phrenology*; and that "Mesmerism is the mind of Phrenology," bringing renewed light and hope to mankind, by which to dispel whatsoever has hitherto astonished, perplexed, and deluded the world in all ages. Here we may as well

say, once for all, that we mean neither to deny mesmeric facts, nor to pronounce at all upon Phrenology—we mean not to assert of one or the other, that it is a gross absurdity; but surely never did either look so like it as in these pages. The facts by which the theory of the authors is illustrated—for they despise proofs—bear no traces of careful and impartial observation. On the contrary, they seem created for foregone conclusions. Admitting them to be facts, they are neither numerous nor important enough to sustain any such conclusions as those they are adduced to support. The employment of facts cannot be trusted to minds of narrow range and prejudiced habit; to such there is nothing more deceptive than facts. It is plain that, in the present instance, they are used by a mind of petty grasp and meagre culture; powerful only in arrogance and self-sufficiency. Mesmerism is sworn to prove Phrenology; and Phrenology in turn proves Mesmerism. *Clairvoyance* is the instrument of the "new discoveries"; and the great men of "the new philosophy" are Gall, Spurzheim, Atkinson, and the Poughkeepsie seer!

To justify our strictures on this production, we shall extract a few passages. The first is Mr. Atkinson's doctrine (the italics being ours)

CONCERNING MAN.

"What I wish to indicate in the first place, then, is this:—that man has his place in natural history: that his nature does not essentially differ from that of the lower animals: that he is but a fuller development and varied condition of the same fundamental nature or cause; of that which we contemplate as Matter, and its changes, relations, and properties. Mind is the consequence or product of the material man, its existence depending on the action of the brain. . . . It is not a thing having a seat or home in the brain; but it is the manifestation or expression of the brain in action; as heat and light are of fire, and fragrance of the flower."

This, and similar matter, is advanced with much self-importance, as if a singularly novel and unprecedented discovery; whereas, the writer but echoes the dictum of Lawrence, the celebrated surgeon, that "the brain secretes thought, as the liver secretes bile." Mr. Atkinson does not, in such passages, affirm a truth, or offer a contribution to the truth, but claims to state the truth, and the whole truth. Of course, the result is the following doctrine

OF FUTURITY.

"As to the fallacy of all arguments for a conscious existence after death, I agree with you entirely."—H. M. to H. G. A.

"I quite agree with what you say about the idea of another life. The desire of a future existence is merely a pampered habit of the mind, founded upon the instinct of preservation. It is a longing; and those who have it are like drinkers or children."—H. G. A. to H. M.

"Many seem to think there is something noble in the belief of a future, and of a retribution; and of a Father in heaven, or a personal deity; and cannot conceive of the unselfish sublimity of a more philosophical view of things."—*Ibid.*

"I look back with a kind of horror as well as deep pity, on myself, in the days when I thought it a duty to cultivate (against nature) an anxious solicitude about my own 'salvation'—my own future spiritual welfare. How sweet it is to be loose from all such solicitude, and to let one's best nature have its free play from hour to hour!"—H. M. to H. G. A.

We cannot transcribe these words of bold in-

satiation without pain—we apologize to our readers for suffering them to enter our columns. We forbear comment—there is nothing in such horrible dogmatizings that can be subjected to criticism, or that is worthy of argument. We proceed with our exposure of the characteristics of this "new philosophy": here are its teachings

CONCERNING GOD.

"Our theologies partake necessarily of the presumption and contracted notions of a village gossip, or of the man who thinks himself specially elected for grace and heaven. *Philosophy finds no God in nature; no personal being or Creator, nor sees the want of any; nor has a God revealed himself miraculously;*" &c.—H. G. A. to H. M.

"There is no theory of a God, of an author of Nature, of an origin of the universe, which is not utterly repugnant to my faculties; which is not (to my feelings) so irreverent as to make me blush; so misleading as to make me mourn."—H. M. to H. G. A.

And in accordance with this denial of a God, and the assertion that the idea has had a degrading influence on men—the belief that "all things are naked and open to the eye of Him with whom we have to do," is exchanged for the thought that "we cannot be sure at any moment that we are free from the *clairvoyant* eye of some one who is observing our actions and most secret thoughts, and our whole character may be read off in a moment!" And it is said that—"Few have the faintest idea of the influence these great truths will have upon the morals of men!" The moral of all this melancholy folly seems to us to be, "They did not like to retain God in their knowledge; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened: professing themselves to be wise, they became fools." Finally, we adduce a few words, indicating the author's estimate of

CHRIST AND CHRISTIANITY.

"Strange as it may appear, and impossible as it may seem to so many, the *Christian religion* is, in fact, and will soon be generally, recognised as *no better than an old wife's fable*. . . . And it will one day be asked, what has become of Christianity and Mahommedanism, and Judaism, and Buddhism, and Fohism. *The Bible will be a curious and charming book for those days, when men will be burning all rubbish of theologies which fills our libraries.*"—H. G. A. to H. M.

"Whoever and whatever Jesus might be (of which I think we know little or nothing), the traditions which settled on his head are easily derivable from the physiological and theological peculiarities of the race, its locality and period of time."—H. M. to H. G. A.

"Christ was constitutionally a CLAIRVOYANT; he had the gift of prophecy, and the ability to read men's thoughts, and to know the nature of their diseases, and their cure."—*Ibid.* [The miracles are separately referred to "mesmeric processes."]

"As for the appearance of Christ after death, there are thousands of ghost stories of a similar character. In all cases, these appearances are subjective phenomena. . . . Christ's case seems to me as clear as daylight."—*Ibid.*

Thus recklessly and unblushingly is the Saviour of the world disposed of—thus remorselessly and malignantly are the faiths and hopes of mankind met by a proud and unreasoning denial. We have no wish to raise the *odium theologicum* against the writers, by these quotations; but we desire to show their own "conclusion of the whole matter,"—to point out the true character of their work, which is much more truly and directly an attack on the religious beliefs of man, and on Christianity especially, than an investigation of the laws of human nature. There is nothing to be feared from such an impotent production: we invite any reader, of ordinary intelligence, to judge for himself of the groundwork of fact, and the method of reasoning, on which he is conducted to these issues of "the new philosophy."

We do not care to pursue our remarks on this book. It is a compound of crudities, incongruities, and absurdities unparalleled. Assumed facts are used for hasty and most imperfect generalizations. Valueless opinion alternates with manifestly false reasoning. The most definite and positive assertions are speedily followed by others the most inconsistent and contradictory. Destitute of power, and even of suggestiveness—breathing a spirit alike immodest and profane—disclosing no single ray of philosophical ability or scientific knowledge—this conceited, pretentious, and foolish book will be surely consigned to the category of crimes against truth and public morals. It is matter for regret that one who has served literature as Harriet Martineau has, should thus befool herself:—of Mr. Atkinson we know nothing—save from his appearance in these pages as a charlatan-empiric.

Our State-church: In England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. London: British Anti-state-church Association.

Our readers, very likely, know well the contents of this pamphlet,—if so, they will admit that it is a very complete and valuable collection of facts and statistics relative to the Church of England and Ireland, and the Kirk of Scotland. If the Anti-state-church Association had but sent out this group of revelations and suggestions, it would have fulfilled a mission entitling it to the reverence and gratitude of all objectors—both the most earnestly political and the most spiritually religious—against State establishments. And if the members of the association will but circulate, far and wide, this epitome of information on present ecclesiastical affairs, they cannot fail to make a profound impression on think-

ing and candid people, and to strike effectively at the root of this evil—monstrous to an extent untold and unknown. The various phases and relations of Establishmentarianism can be understood only by such a study as this work affords. Dissenters generally do not understand them. The public mind is very ill informed about them. The condensed history, careful statistics, cogent reasoning, cool temper, and fair spirit, of these essays, will secure for them a wide acceptance and incalculable usefulness. Will our readers, with a little earnestness and in a responsible spirit, be just to their own convictions and the great work, by putting them into universal circulation?

ANTI-SLAVERY SOIREE IN EDINBURGH.—On Monday week, William Wells Brown and William and Ellen Crafts, three fugitive slaves, were entertained at a soirée, in the Queen-street Hall. About three hundred friends of the anti-slavery cause were present, and Mr. J. H. Stott occupied the chair. After tea, William Wells Brown gave an interesting account of a scheme that he is promoting for the establishment of a manual labour school in Canada, where the fugitive slaves in that country, now amounting to about 30,000, may not only have the benefit of education, but be instructed in those trades and callings the future prosecution of which would render them independent of all extraneous aid from the benevolent. Dr. Gunn, of the High School, warmly supported the scheme, and submitted a motion to that effect to the meeting, which was supported by the Rev. J. R. Campbell, and unanimously agreed to. Mr. John Wigham, jun., said those who were inclined to contribute towards the scheme might have every confidence in the parties to whom the funds were to be entrusted; and that the work of subscription might be immediately commenced, it was resolved to appoint the Chairman (Mr. Stott) to be treasurer for this city. A motion condemnatory of American slavery, but more especially of the late Fugitive Slave Bill, was moved by the Rev. J. Edwards, seconded by Professor Dick, and enthusiastically adopted. The meeting was afterwards addressed by William Crafts, who described, from his own observation, and the personal sufferings of himself and his wife, the enormities of the American slave system. Baillie Fyfe, Mr. Anderson, and other gentlemen, followed with a few remarks, sympathizing with the three fugitive slaves present, and with the laudable object which they wished to promote. The audience then separated, after having spent a most pleasant and profitable evening.

A POACHING TAPEZ.—A gentleman, while walking the other day in the grounds of a noble family in this neighbourhood, observed a pheasant pecking on the ground, and, watching the bird for a minute or two, he saw it tumble over as if shot. The observer walked to the spot, and found the bird dead; there was a sprinkling of peas on the ground of a rather suspicious appearance. He picked one up, and to his surprise discovered that it was threaded with bristles, cut short, but still long enough and sharp enough to stick in any bird's throat that tried to swallow the bait, and so choke it.—*Worcestershire Chronicle*.

THE ARMY ESTIMATES FOR 1851-52.—The detailed estimates for the army service for the ensuing financial year of 1851 have just been published, and show a decrease in the charge in the sum granted for the present year, ending March 31, of £93,452. The gross amount required to be voted for the service is £6,925,945, of which £3,873,666 is for the effective service, and £2,052,279 for the non-effective service, exclusive of £980,000 charged to the East India Company for the services of troops in India. The total numbers and charge of the British army are 129,211 men of all ranks; of these 98,714 are for the service of the United Kingdom, and 30,497 for the service of the East India Company, who defray the expenses. A decrease in the numbers is proposed of 414 of all ranks, namely, 101 officers, 25 non-commissioned officers, and 260 rank and file.

Two BEARS, forming part of Hilton's menagerie, in Liverpool, contrived to break from confinement about eight o'clock on Wednesday morning, and forthwith exhibited their awkward erratic propensities, to the dismay of a vast number of persons who were proceeding to business. The carmen who ply in the vicinity of St. John's Market immediately congregated in great strength, and, headed by the bears' keepers, gave chase; the animals, however, were not to be taken without trouble. One "dodged about" up and down the streets in the neighbourhood, and set off at full speed up Mount-pleasant, but was finally captured in the Prince's park. The first exploit of the second bear was to kill and partially devour an unfortunate dog which he espied within a few yards of the caravans. The pause in his career occasioned by this act led to his speedy capture.

THE ARMOURY AT THE TOWER.—Great preparations are being made at the Tower for the approaching crowds who are to visit the metropolis this year. All the magnificent suits of armour are being reburied; also the various ancient weapons, which form the devices on the walls and ceilings of this splendid receptacle of England's chivalry in the olden time. It is quite amusing to pass through the gallery at the present time. The Black Prince has an old blanket thrown over him for protection against an Irish labourer painting the skull-caps of the Covenanters. Henry VIII. is looking with perfect disgust at his cousin, Brandon, whose head is undergoing a chancery process at the hands of an ordinance manipulator. In fact, kings, knights, squires, and horses, appear terrified at these preparations.—*United Service Gazette*.

SUNDAY TRADING.—The bill now in the House of Commons, brought forward by Mr. W. Williams, to prevent unnecessary trading on Sunday within the metropolitan police district and the city of London, was printed on Saturday. According to the bill, Sunday trading is to cease by nine o'clock on Sunday, and goods exposed to sale may be seized. It is proposed that the measure shall come into operation on the 1st of November next.

THE ANTI-CAPITAL PUNISHMENT meeting at Exeter, on Wednesday evening, went off with good effect. Mr. R. Dymond presided. The Rev. T. Hincks, Mr. T. Fox and Mr. Sercombe addressed the meeting, besides the deputation—Messrs. Gilpin and Beggs. The latter gentleman said, in the course of his able speech:

He would notice an assertion made by the Home Secretary, Sir George Grey, that five offences which were formerly regarded as capital, had increased since the abolition of capital punishment. His friend, Gilpin, entered very carefully into the subject, and found out that Sir George Grey had committed blunders in calculating his statistics, that would have disgraced a schoolboy of thirteen years of age [laughter]. He (Mr. Beggs) addressed a letter to the Hon. Mr. Bouverie, in which he set Sir George Grey's statistics right. Now the Home Secretary, although he made use of these statistics, was still a conscientious man, and last year he abandoned them, and then found out, that after all, statistics were not to be relied upon [laughter]. Now when he built a strong case the year before, he did not find that out. No reasoning was so thoroughly based—nothing so capable of proof—as a case built upon statistics, if the man who used them knew how to use them, and took care to allow for disturbing causes. That the number of commitments and convictions for forgery had increased after the abolition of capital punishment was perfectly compatible with the diminution of crime. Mr. Gilpin had referred to the case of one large house in London, which never prosecuted, when the offence of forgery was visited with capital punishment. He had conversed with a gentleman in London, who, during a period of nine years, had forgeries committed in his business, amounting to £1,600—and he never prosecuted the offenders, on account of the punishment [hear, hear]. Several houses in Lombard-street testified to the same fact—that if these persons had been convicted, there would have been a greater number of commitments and convictions, and a diminution would thus appear. Sir George Grey had admitted that. In reference to the crime of burglary, several new titles had been introduced for this offence, and this should be also taken into account.

CAMBRIDGE TESTIMONIAL.—At the last meeting of the subscribers to this fund, the committee reported that, in addition to the subscription of £1,700 already printed, further sum of £600 had been collected; and they recommended, as the most appropriate monument to the memory of his Royal Highness the late Duke of Cambridge, the erection of houses for the reception of widows of non-commissioned officers and privates of her Majesty's land forces, to be designated "The Cambridge Military Asylum." The report and recommendation were adopted.

BIRTHS.

December 23, 1850, at the Union Chapel-house, Durumtollah, Calcutta, the wife of the Rev. T. BOKE, LL.D., of a son.

February 17, at 18, High-street, Ipswich, the wife of Mr. R. C. J. REED, of a daughter.

February 20, the wife of the Rev. G. W. CONNELL, of Leeds, of a daughter.

February 21, at Leytonstone, the wife of T. POWELL BUXTON, Esq., of a son.

February 21, at 8, Bishops'-road, Gloucester-gardens, Mrs. E. HUNTER, of a daughter, still-born.

February 21, at Brixton-rise, Mrs. FRED. DOULTON, of a son.

February 22, at Victoria-place, St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, Mrs. FLINT, of a son.

February 24, at Hackney, the wife of Mr. CHARLES REED, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

February 13, at Union Chapel, Herne Bay, by the Rev. D. Harrison, Mr. A. HOULT to Miss C. T. WHORLOW, both of Whistable.

February 15, at Maize-hill Chapel, Greenwich, by the Rev. W. LUCY, Mr. GEORGE DAWK, of London, to Miss SELINA JANE THOMPSON, of Greenwich.

February 15, at Brighton, the Rev. SEPTIMUS RUSSELL DAVIES, M.A., of Queen's College, Cambridge, to ANN ELIZA, the only daughter of R. BRUTTON, Esq., of Bethnal green, London.

February 18, at St. Mary's Chapel, Devizes, by his father (the Rev. R. Elliott), JOHN JULIUS ELLIOTT, of Doctors'-commons, and St. James's-square, Notting-hill, to HANRIETTA LOUISA, the only daughter of R. STRANGE, Esq., solicitor, of Devizes.

February 20, at Abberdares, Mr. DAVID EVANS, *Principality Office*, Cardiff, to HELEN ELIZA, second daughter of the late T. TAYLOR, Esq., of St. Ann's, Jamaica, and niece of P. Taylor, Esq., of Hirwenn, Glamorgan.

February 22, at Salem Chapel, Hull, by the Rev. J. SIBREES, Capt. JOHN JOHNSON to LATITIA ANN, eldest daughter of S. K. BIRCH, Esq.; all of that town.

February 25, at East-street Chapel, Southampton, Mr. JOHN SCRIVENER to Miss EMILY WARD, of Ipswich.

Lately, at East-street Chapel, Southampton, by the Rev. T. MORRIS, Mr. JAMES HUSTON to Miss WEST.

DEATHS.

February 12, in her 45th year, Miss MARY BRIDOR, of the firm of M. and S. BRIDGE, Manchester.

February 15, aged 49, Mr. FREDERICK WESTLEY, of Friar-street, near Doctors'-commons.

February 16, at Homerton, in the 81st year of her age, RASCOCA, relief of the late R. JACKSON, Esq., of the City-road, and Lloyd's.

February 16, in the 67th year of her age, Miss ANN RANKIN, of Royston.

February 18, aged 83, Mr. JAMES SHEEN COX, optician, of 5, Barbican.

February 18, at Bath, in her 59th year, Lady LARPENT, wife of Sir G. Larpent, Bart.

February 18, at Budleigh Salterton, South Devon, aged 13, JOHN CLLEMENT, the eldest son of T. C. S. KYNNERSLEY, Esq., barrister-at-law.

February 18, at Kettering, after a lingering illness, aged 35, MARTHA BRYAN, wife of Mr. J. SIBLEY.

February 19, at Kettering, of consumption, aged 42, Mr. J. SIBLEY, husband of the above.

February 20, aged 17 years and 8 months, after a month of severe affliction, JOHN WILLIAMS, the eldest son of Mr. O. H. Williams, of 269, Chapel's-revet, Salford, and late of Ellesmere, Salop.

February 21, at 4, Bellitha-villas, Islington, aged 9 years and 5 months, CHARLES GORDON, the eldest son of the Rev. C. A. M. SHEPHERD.

February 21, at Tewkesbury, aged 83, Mr. THOMAS OSBOURNE, formerly of Nailsworth, Gloucestershire. He retained the use of his faculties—and rejected the assistance of spectacles and walking-stick—to the last.

A steam-engine, weighing only three-quarters of an ounce, is being exhibited in Yorkshire, in full motion. It is intended for the Great Exhibition, and has been made by an ingenious workman in Saddleworth.

MONEY MARKET AND COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

CITY, TUESDAY EVENING.

The English Stock Market has been depressed during the past week, although the total amount of decline since our last has been little more than nominal. The "Ministerial crisis" may be said to have had no effect on the market, excepting on Saturday, when, as it became a matter of certainty that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at least, would go out, and that a more liberal Ministry would probably be constructed, the funds partially revived. They have remained since at the quotations of that day, and there will probably continue until something definite is communicated regarding the new Ministry. Exchequer Bills have greatly declined during the week. Bank Stock has been very firm.

	Wed.	Thurs.	Friday.	Sat.	Mond.	Tues.
4 per Ct. Cons.	96 <i>1</i> 4	96 <i>1</i> 8	96 <i>1</i> 8	96 <i>1</i> 8	96 <i>1</i>	96 <i>1</i>
Cons. for Auct.	96 <i>1</i>	96 <i>1</i> 4	96 <i>1</i> 8	96 <i>1</i> 8	96 <i>1</i>	96 <i>1</i>
3 per Ct. Red.	97 <i>6</i> 2	96 <i>7</i> 7 <i>1</i>	97 <i>6</i> 2	96 <i>7</i> 7 <i>1</i>	97	97
New 3 <i>1</i> per Ct.						
Annuities...	98 <i>1</i> 2	98 <i>1</i> 2	98 <i>1</i> 2	98 <i>1</i> 2	98 <i>1</i>	98 <i>1</i>
India Stock...		98 <i>3</i> 6 <i>1</i>		2 <i>1</i> 5 <i>8</i>	98 <i>3</i>	98 <i>3</i>
Bank Stock...	315 <i>8</i>	315 <i>8</i>	315 <i>8</i>	315 <i>8</i>	315 <i>8</i>	315 <i>8</i>
Excheq. Bills...	49 <i>1</i> pm.	47 <i>1</i> pm.	53 <i>1</i> pm.	46 <i>1</i> pm.	47 <i>1</i> pm.	49 <i>1</i> pm.
India Bonds...	68 <i>1</i> pm.	58 <i>1</i> pm.	58 <i>1</i> pm.	60 <i>1</i> pm.	57 <i>1</i> pm.	58 <i>1</i> pm.
Long Annuit.			7 <i>11</i> -16	7 <i>11</i> -16		7 <i>11</i> -16

The Foreign Market has been very fluctuating, but a large amount of business has been done in connexion with it. Mexican has risen, so also has Buenos Ayrean. The following are the latest prices:—Grenada Deferred, 3*1*; Mexican Bonds, 33*1*, *2*; Ditto for Account, 33*1*, *2*; Peruvian Four-and-a-Half per Cent. Bonds, 80; Ditto, Deferred, 35*1*, 36; Portuguese Five per Cent. Converted, 35*1* ex div.; Ditto, Four per Cent., 34; Russian Four-and-a-Half per Cent., 97*1*, 96*1*; Spanish Actives, Five per Cent. for Account, 19*1*; Ditto, 1847, 14*1*; Ditto, Passives, 4*1* *2*; Ditto, Three per Cent., 38; Venezuela, Two-and-a-Quarter per Cent., 31; Ditto, Deferred, 11; French Rentes, Three per Cent., 57*1*. 25*1*. at an exchange of 2*5*. 0*5*; Austrian Five per Cent., 76*1*, at an exchange of 10 florins; Dutch Two-and-a-Half per Cent., 58*1* *2*; Ditto, Four per Cent. Certificates, 9*1* *2*.

The Share Market has been very little affected by the condition of the Stocks. A steady, and, in amount, favourable business has been maintained, whilst prices have generally advanced. *Herapath's Journal* gives the following budget of dividends:—The excess of the Great Northern receipts over the working expenses is £89,000, which, after being reduced by the mortgage interest and guarantees, will leave a balance; and this, added to the former balance, will make it about £20,000. A dividend of 2*1* would exhaust £19,547. No dividend, however, will be recommended. The directors of the Ambergate Railway intend to propose at the meeting on the 27th inst. a dividend of 1*1* per share for the half-year, which, as there are 60,000 shares, will require £3,000. The available surplus on the half-year's working being £4,021, this dividend can be paid and a balance left over of about £1,000. The directors state that beneficial arrangements have been made with the London and North Western and Midland Companies for an interchange of traffic, and much is expected from the opening of the direct line of the Great Northern. The directors of the South Eastern Railway have determined upon recommending a dividend of 10*1* per share (or £30 stock) for the half year ending the 31st of January. As regards the York and North Midland, the dividend proposed is 10*1*. The traffic returns continue to be very favourable.

The subjoined calculations, taken from a daily contemporary, show the rate per cent. per annum yielded by the various securities cited at the averages of the prices which ruled this day. Where the asterisk (*) is prefixed it is to be understood that the share rate of interest is less the income-tax:—

	£ s. d.
Three per Cent. Consols. average price	96 <i>1</i> yield per cent. 3 2 3
Three per Cent. Reduced	97 <i>1</i> " " 3 1 9
New Three-and-a-Quar. per Centas.	98 " " 3 6 9
Bank Stock (div. 7 per cent. per annum)	215 " " 3 5 4
India Stock (div. 10 <i>1</i> per cent. per annum)	267 <i>1</i> " " 3 18 5
Exchequer Bills (Int. 1 <i>1</i> per day)	50 <i>1</i> pm. " " 3 4 6
Great Western* £100 sh. (div. at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum)	92 " " 4 6 11 <i>1</i>
Lancashire and Yorkshire £100 Stock* (last div. at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum)	58 " " 3 8 11 <i>1</i>
London and South Western* Stock (probable forthcoming div. at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum)	90 " " 4 8 9

FEBRUARY 26.]

The Nonconformist.

THE BIRTH OF THE ROSE.

FAMILIAR THINGS, No. III., for March, Price 3d., will contain, in addition to the usual illustrations and matter, a Beautiful Engraving of the BIRTH OF THE ROSE, from a design by R. Huskisson, printed on tinted paper, and executed in the first style of the art. All who have seen the work, say it is a delightful book. It gossips pleasantly about those things by which we are surrounded, and gives us the origin, progress, and present state of all we see, taste, and feel, in such a way as to convey a great deal of amusement and information, not to the young only, but to those of more mature age.

London : A. HALL, VIRTUE, and Co., and all Booksellers.

ALPACA UMBRELLAS.—The economy, both in the cost and wear of this umbrella, has been fully established, and proves that "Alpacas" will outlast any other material hitherto used for umbrellas. It may be obtained of most umbrella dealers in the United Kingdom, from 10s. 6d.—W. & J. SANGSTER, 140, Regent-street; 94, Fleet-street; 10, Royal Exchange; and 75, Cheapside.

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COCKERELL & CO.'S "BEST COALS ONLY,"
ALWAYS AT THE LOWEST PRICE.
PURPLET WHARF, EARL-STREET, BLACKFRIARS,
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EATON WHARF, LOWER BELGRAVE-PLACE, PIMLICO.
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BRANDE'S ENAMEL for FILLING DECAYING TEETH and rendering them sound and painless, has, from its unquestionable excellence, obtained great popularity at home and abroad. Its curative agency is based upon a true theory of the cause of Tooth-ache, and hence its great success. By most other remedies it is sought to kill the nerve, and so stop the pain. But to destroy the nerve is itself a very painful operation, and often leads to very sad consequences, for the tooth then becomes dead substance in a living jaw, and produces the same amount of inflammation and pain as would result from any other foreign body embedded in a living organ. BRANDE'S ENAMEL does not destroy the nerve, but by restoring the Shell of the Tooth, completely protects the nerve from cold, heat, or chemical or other agency by which pain is caused. By following the directions instant ease is obtained, and a lasting cure follows. Full instructions accompany every packet.

"Farnsfield, Nottinghamshire, Feb. 28th, 1850.

"Sir,—In a front tooth which I expected daily to lose I applied a plug of 'Brande's Enamel' several months ago, and from that time I have neither received the slightest pain nor experienced the least difficulty in masticating with that tooth, but it still remains a firm, painless, and useful tooth. Your enamel is worthy of recommendation."

"Yours truly,
Geo. SMITHURST."

London : Manufactured only by JOHN WILLIS, 24, East Temple-chambers, Whitefriars, Fleet-street, removed from 4, Bell's-buildings, Salisbury-square. Wholesale by all the large Medical Houses.

Should there be any difficulty in obtaining it, enclose thirteen stamps to JOHN WILLIS (as above) and you will ensure the genuine article by return of post. Twenty authentic Testimonials, with full directions for use, accompany each packet, which contains enough Enamel to fill several Teeth. Observe that the name of "John Willis" is on every packet.

COUGH JUJUBE LOZENGES.

THESE valuable Jujubes are composed of the most approved expectorants, with pure gum, which, by relieving the irritation in the air-passages, present a safe, agreeable, and efficacious medicine in all cases of ASTHMA, BRONCHITIS, difficult respiration, consumptive complaints, and all other affections of the chest and lungs.

15, Sydney-place, City-road, London, Sept. 30th 1850.

Messrs. Warrick Brothers.—I feel great pleasure to tell you how much benefit I have received from your Cough Jujube Lozenges. For some time before I took them, I was in the habit of spitting blood whilst coughing, and have since, at the recommendation of a friend, taken them, and received most astonishing relief, not only as to my cough, but do not now spit any blood.

G. RICHARDS.

Great Grimsby, Oct. 10th, 1850.

Gentlemen,—I hasten to acknowledge the thanks I feel due to you. I think the public ought to be aware that there is such a valuable remedy as your Cough Jujube Lozenges. My son, ever since he returned from sea, has been afflicted with shortness of breath and violent cough, whenever he went out in the cold air; he had taken a very few when the symptoms became relieved, and I have no doubt but that soon he will lose the cough, as he seems already so astonishingly better.

Please send me another box that I may have them in the house, for I shall recommend them to all my friends.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

Messrs. Warrick Brothers. MARTHA SMITH.

Windsor, August, 7th 1850.

Gentlemen,—I have been afflicted for many years with what my doctor calls bronchitis. I took your Lozenges for four days, and I may say that I am almost cured, they seemed so much to relieve my breathing.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant

THOMAS STONE.

To Messrs. Warrick, Brothers, Garlick-hill, London.

39, Curtain-road, Sept 19th, 1850.

Gentlemen,—I feel it my duty to certify how much benefit your Cough Jujube Lozenges have been to me. I have been troubled with an asthmatic cough for a very long time. I have tried everything, and found nothing give me so much relief. I have recommended them to an aunt of mine, who had a most troublesome cough for years, and I have no doubt she will be as much obliged as I am for the good they have done.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

To Messrs. Warrick Brothers. J. GIBBS.

3, Garlick-hill, Upper Thames-street.

Commercial-road, Oct. 4th, 1850.

Gentlemen,—Having been troubled from childhood with a winter cough, I always look forward with anxiety to this time of year, fearing, from experience, that when once my cough begins, it will abide with me until the spring. My cough, as usual, began with the change in the weather, but having been advised by a friend to try your Lozenges, I did so, and after taking one box my cough left me—a most unusual thing—and has not returned. If you think my experience will induce others to seek the same benefits I have derived from the use of your Lozenges, you are at perfect liberty to publish this.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

Messrs. Warrick, Garlick-hill. F. FRANKS.

Prepared and sold wholesale by WARRICK BROTHERS, London and retail by all Chemists and Druggists throughout the country. Price, 1s. 1½d. per box, with directions.

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Arrangements can be made with this Office to prevent the loss of a Policy where the Assured is unable, from temporary embarrassment, to keep up the payments.

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A LIGHT NUTRITIOUS DIET, SUITABLE FOR BREAKFASTS, LUNCHEONS, SUPPERS, &c. &c., and may be used for Puddings, Custards, Biscuits, or ordinary purposes; recipes accompany each tin.

Prepared and sold by A. S. PLUMBE, 3, Alle-place, Great Alle-street, Whitechapel, London, whose signature to each Packet is necessary to ensure its being genuine; price 1s. per pound.

This pure foreign vegetable production is strongly recommended by the faculty for its nutritious and restorative qualities, being light and easy of digestion, and free from the unpleasant flavour of the farinas now in general use, but containing equally a much nutrient. Invalids will find it a most delicious and restorative food; mothers, an indispensable adjunct to the nursery; and to persons suffering from loss of appetite, this superior food will prove invaluable. By its regular use, dyspepsia, and all disorders arising from indigestion, are entirely eradicated and prevented, so that the most delicate may partake with pleasure and benefit, for it imparts strength and energy to the most enfeebled constitution, invigorating the muscular and nervous system, and thereby completely establishing a healthy action of the stomach and bowels.

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"I hereby certify, that the Farinaceous Food for Infants, Invalids and others, as sold by Mrs. Plumbé, of 3, Alle-place, Great Alle-street, Whitechapel, is a perfectly pure vegetable product, agreeable to the palate, light on the stomach, easy of digestion, eminently wholesome and nutritive, and therefore deserving of general patronage and adoption, for the dietetic regimen of weakly children and convalescents.

"September 5th, 1850,
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"Professor of Chemistry, and Analytical Chemist."

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A. S. PLUMBE begs to inform the Public, that she has just imported her winter stock of Arrow-root, and flatters herself that having had more than ten years' experience in the trade, during which period she has given it her constant attention, and made it her entire occupation, from her very large purchases, she is enabled to give a better article than is usually sold at the same price, and pledges herself to deliver it free from adulteration.

Agents may obtain particulars of A. S. Plumbé, 3, Alle-place, Great Alle-street, Whitechapel, London; and may be had wholesale of

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TO SCHOOLMASTERS, PARENTS, &c. &c.

THE GUTTA PERCHA COMPANY

HAVE BEEN FAVoured WITH THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM

LIEUTENANT ROUSE, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE GREENWICH HOSPITAL SCHOOLS.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL SCHOOLS, July 16th, 1850.

I have for the last three years worn Gutta Percha Soles, and from the comfort experienced in the wear generally, particularly in regard to dry feet, and also in durability and consequent economy, I was induced to recommend the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital, to sanction its use in this Establishment, instead of Leather Soles. It has now been Six Months in general use here, so that I am, from experience in the wear and tear of Shoes for EIGHT HUNDRED BOYS, able to speak with confidence as to its utility, which, in my belief, is very great; and I am looking forward to its being the means, during the next Winter, of preventing chilblains, from which we have greatly suffered.

I have much pleasure in giving this testimony, and you have my permission to make it as public as you please, in the belief that it cannot but be doing good.

I remain, your faithful Servant,

JOHN WOOD ROUSE, LIEUT. SUPERINTENDENT.

FROM

LIEUT. COLONEL F. R. BLAKE, THIRTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, July 16th, 1850.

In reply to your letter requesting my opinion with regard to Gutta Percha Soles, I have great pleasure in informing you, that I have made particular enquiries on the subject from those soldiers of the 33rd Regiment, who have worn them during the past year, and they decidedly give the preference to the Gutta Percha Soles, both for comfort and durability. I have also constantly worn them myself, and can therefore speak from my own knowledge of the superior advantages of Gutta Percha Soles.

I am, your obedient servant,

F. R. BLAKE, LIEUT. COL., 33RD REGIMENT.

IMPORTANT TO GARDENERS, &c.

The Gutta Percha Company have been favoured with the following Letter

G. GLENNY, ESQ.,

THE CELEBRATED FLORIST.

Country Gentleman Office, 430, Strand, London, August 31, 1850.

GENTLEMEN.—I have worn Gutta Percha Soles and Heels these two years, and being so much in a garden as I necessarily am in all weathers, and with the ground in all states, I would on no account be without them. As a matter of economy I would recommend Gardeners to use them, for they may repair the worn part at all times by warming the material at the fire, and pressing it from the thick parts to the worn parts, as easily as if it were so much dough. I think it the duty of all persons who must occasionally wet their feet, to adopt a material that completely defies damp. Many a Gardener would escape colds and rheumatism by the use of Gutta Percha Soles.

Your obedient servant, G. GLENNY.

The Gutta Percha Company, Patentees, 18, Wharf Road, City Road, London.

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The justice of their principles and their suitability to the wants of the public, have obtained the approbation and recommendation of numerous and influential public journals, and an amount of business very far beyond the most sanguine expectations of their founders.

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1847....	257	£49,998	192	£13,566	449	£63,564	9	£155
1818....	311	48,039	523	30,706	617	£258,235	1,451	336,980	7	270
1849....	708	107,629	450	26,253	1,505	619,978	2,663	753,860	13	280
1850....	809	136,365	410	27,961	1,680	656,425	2,899	820,754	14	262
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 Tea and Coffee sets, Waiters, Candlesticks, &c., at proportionate prices. All kinds of re-plating done by the patent process.

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